

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
IN
SWEDEN,

OCCASIONED BY

The Change of Religion, and Al-
teration of the Government in
that Kingdom.

Written Originally in *French*,
By the Abbot *VERTOT*:

Printed at *PARIS*;

And done into *English*,

By *J. MITCHEL*, M.D.

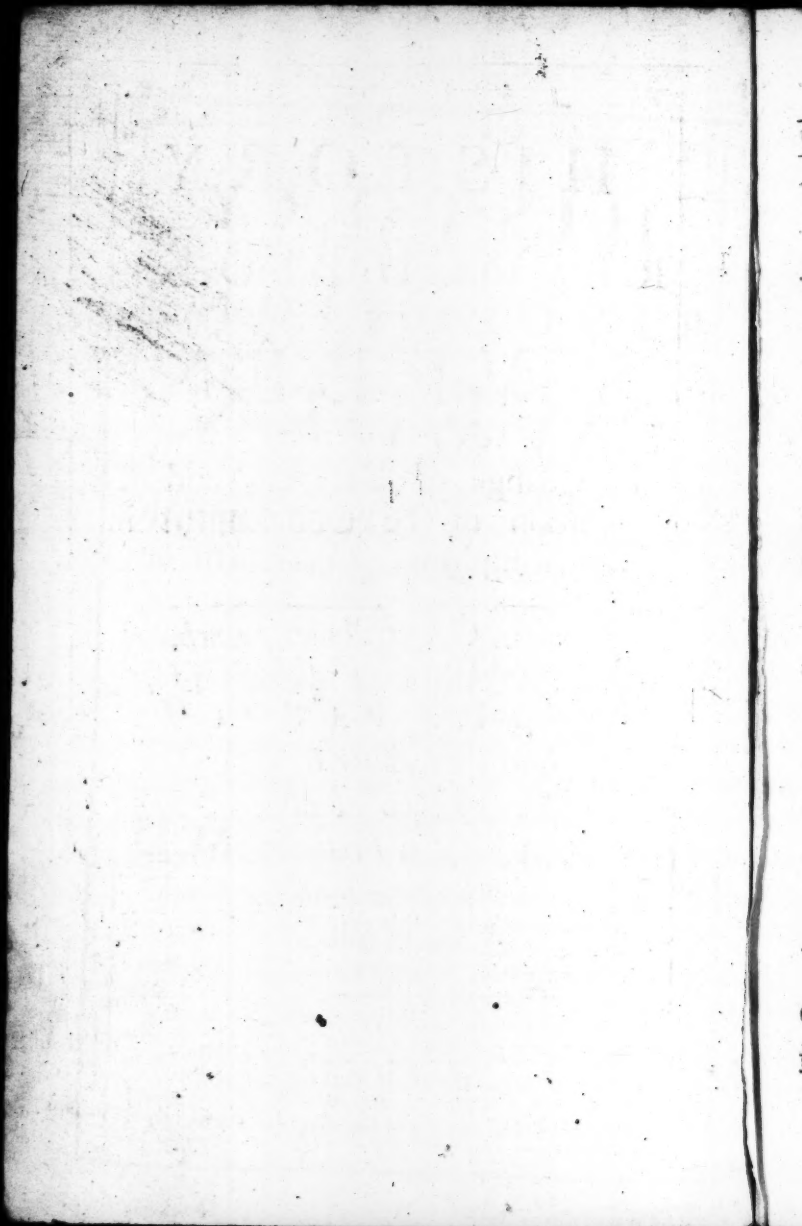
With a Map of *Sweden, Denmark and Norway*.

The Second Edition.

In which the whole Work is revis'd and corrected;
and almost the whole Second Part, which was done
by another Hand, newly Translated.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *A. S. and T. C.* and sold by *R. Parker* un-
der the Piazza of the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil*. 1697.



TO
HIS GRACE
The DUKE of
SHREWSBURY,
One of HIS MAJESTY'S
Principal Secretaries
OF
STATE.

May it please your Grace,

AS we have the *unwonted*,
and perhaps the *peculiar*
Happiness, to live un-
der a *Sovereign*, whose Interest
is inseparably united to that

A 2 of

The Epistle Dedicatory.

of his *Subjects*, we have also the Pleasure to see the Management of Affairs committed to the Care of a *Minister*, who has extinguish'd the unhappy Distinction betwixt a *Courtier* and a *Patriot*; and has an equal Regard to the Honour of the *Crown*, and to the true Interest of his *Country*. You are at once the Favourite of the *Prince*, and of the *People*: You have always preserv'd an unshaken Fidelity to the *one*, and a generous Affection to the *other*; and are equally belov'd by the *Former*, and ador'd by the *Latter*. You Inherit the unfully'd Glory of your *Ancestors*; and the Illustrious
Name

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Name of TALBOT is now as
Terrible to *Lewis XIV.* as it
was heretofore Fatal to *Charles*
the Seventh, The Eyes of all
the World are fix'd upon you;
they look upon you as a *Publick*
Good; and, next to your
Great Master, you are the Ob-
ject of their Hope and Expe-
ctations. You are the Chief
Encourager and Promoter of
Publick Designs, and are con-
sequently the fittest *Patron* for
a Work that gives us so lively
an *Idea* of the vast Dispropor-
tion betwixt the *Subjects* of a
Hero, and the *Slaves* of a *Ty-*
rant. And 'tis this Considera-
tion alone, which makes me
hope, That the *Honesty* of the

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*Intention will prevail with you
to excuse the Errors and Pre-
sumption of*

Your Grace's

Most humbly

Devoted Servant,

John Mitchel.

The

The TRANSLATOR's
P R E F A C E.

S*Ince there are few (if any) Readers, who are not desirous to be either diverted or instructed, the Translator presumes that he may spare himself the Trouble of Recommending a Book which is so admirably well fitted to both these Designs, and will infallibly satisfy those who expect either Pleasure or Advantage by perusing it.*

'Tis generally suppos'd to be written by the Abbot VERTAT; whose former Performances in this kind were receiv'd abroad with the unanimous Approbation of the best Judges, and have justly entitl'd him to the Character of an Excellent Historian. But tho' such as are acquainted with his other Works will be always ready to do Justice to his Merit and Reputation, those who reflect upon his Nation, Religion and Profession, and consider how frequently and grossly the Publick has been abus'd with Romances, under the specious Title of Histories, will be apt to suspect the Credit of his Relations, and fancy themselves in danger of being impos'd upon by the impudent Forgeries of a Maimburg, or a Varrillas.

It must be confess'd, that such Prejudices as these are so far from being Groundless Suspicions, that they are the natural Consequences of a prudent Caution. But since it wou'd be equally unjust and inhumane to condemn a Man for the Fault of another, our Author

The Translator's Preface.

may reasonably desire his Readers to suspend their Judgment till they have examin'd his Book, which is the best Apology that can be made for him: For they will soon find a more than sufficient Number of convincing Proofs of his Innocence and Integrity, and be oblig'd to acknowledge that his Exactness and Impartiality are as conspicuous as the Clearness and Solidity of his Judgment. He penetrates into the deepest Mysteries of State, and discovers the hidden Springs that put all the Wheels in motion. He omits nothing that may serve to illustrate or embellish his Subject; and never inserts any thing that is either impertinent, or beneath the regard of a Historian. His Characters are just and lively, his Digressions few and useful, and he is every where consistent with himself. He represents Tyranny and Oppression in their native and ugly Form; and exposes the Avarice and Usurpations of the Church and Court of Rome, with as much Freedom as he censures Luther and his Followers. Such Plain-dealing and Ingenuity may be look'd upon as Prodigies, in a Book that is printed at Paris, dedicated to the Chancellor of France, and written by a French Abbot. And such rare and excellent Qualities may, in some measure, atone for the Harshness and Severity of his Reflexions upon the First Reformers; and will certainly oblige all moderate Persons to pardon an Errour that must be reckon'd among the Prejudices of Education, and perhaps was only intended as a Blind to cover him from the Resentment of the Court and Clergy, who might probably be offended at some bold Strokes in his Work, and conclude that the Blow was really aim'd at Them.

The Story describ'd in this Book is so uncommon,
and

The Translator's Preface.

and attended with such improbable, and even almost incredible Circumstances; the Characters of the Principal Actors are so extraordinary, especially of the two contending Princes, who seem equally to exceed the usual Bounds of Humanity, tho on very different Accounts, the one being as far below as the other is above the common Level of Mankind: The Turns are so unexpected, and disclose such surprising Scenes, that the Reader can hardly forbear suspecting that he owes the whole Entertainment to the Fancy of the Author, and has only been diverted with the Fictitious Adventures of a Fabulous Hero. But the Truth of the Swedish Revolution will never be question'd by those who consider that the History of the present Age, and even our own Experience, may furnish us with Examples of no less wonderful Events; as it appears evidently by the following Instances.

Since no Man can be suppos'd to be capable of forgetting the late memorable Transactions in this Kingdom, 'twou'd be a ridiculous piece of Nicety to dispute the Truth of even the oddest and most improbable Circumstances of K. Christiern's Flight and Abdication.

The Story of the Massacre of Stockholm will not be condemn'd as a Fable; nor the unmanly Barbarity of that Prince, in murdering a whole Parliament, be reckon'd too black a Crime to be fasten'd upon a Crown'd Head, at a time when we have reason to believe that there are some Princes in Europe who scruple not to consent to, and even encourage the Assassination of a Sovereign.

No Man who is acquainted with the Amours of a Monarch who makes at present a very great Figure in the World, will be surpriz'd at the Character of
Sigebrite,

The Translator's Preface.

Sigebrite, and the Extravagant Passion of her Unfortunate Lover.

To conclude the Parallell, the undaunted Courage, steady Resolution, Admirable Conduct, Generous Magnanimity, and all the other Peaceful and Military Virtues, which are so eminently Remarkable in all the Actions of that Great Prince, who may be justly stil'd the Deliverer of the Swedish Nation, the Establisher of the Reform'd Religion, and the Restorer or rather the Founder of the Monarchy of that Kingdom, will perhaps be look'd upon as a Combination of Prodigies, and fill the mind of the Reader with an agreeable Amazement; but cannot appear Incredible to those who have the Happiness to live under the Dominion of a Hero, whose matchless Bravery, and inimitable Vertues darken the Fainter Glory of Gustavus's Reign.

The Kindness of the Public, in vouchsafing so encouraging a Reception to this Book, at its first Appearance in our Language, as it can only be reckon'd an Effect of their Justice, if we consider the Usefulness of the Work, and the Merit of the Author; so it must be acknowledg'd as a Favour, if we reflect upon the Faults of the Translation. The Translator is very sensible of so considerable an Obligation; and, as a Mark of his Gratitude, has endeavour'd to render this Impression less imperfect than the Former. He has made a New Translation of the French Author's Preface; and of the Second Part from p. 45 to 114, which, as he intimated before, were done by other Hands: but had not time to compleat the Work by altering the End of the First Part. He won'd not have given himself so much Trouble if he had not thought he cou'd improve the former Translation, and hop'd that his Alterations won'd be reckon'd Amendments: But since he dares not insist upon so nice a Subject, he submits his Performance to the Judgment of the Reader, and only thinks fit to advertise him, that he will, at least, be sure of this Advantage, That his Entertainment will be more of a Piece than before.

THE

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

AMong the most Remarkable and Instructive Events that are recorded in *History*, there are none that, in my Opinion, deserve to be more attentively consider'd than the Alterations of *Religion* and *Government*; All the Members of the Society are concern'd in such a *Revolution*; and every Object that appears serves either to alarm their *Conscience*, or to flatter and enflame their *Ambition*. Every *particular Person* is animated with the most active and lively Passions; and an universal Ferment puts the whole *Body* of the *State* into motion. During the general Disorder, the *People* renew their Pretensions to that which they call their *Primitive* and most ancient *Right*, and claim the important Privilege of chusing both their *Master* and their *Religion*. Their Choice is usually determin'd by the *Prejudices* that byass their Affections; and the *Noble* and *Great* are forc'd, on such occasions, to court the assistance of the *Rabble* for the carrying on of their secret Designs.

When the *Historian* is acquainted with the art of adorning his Relations with all the Graces of *Eloquence*; when he can *paint* out every Circumstance to the best advantage, and knows *where*, and *how* to lay the brightest *Colours*; when such an *Author* chuses such a *Subject*, the *Reader* may venture to promise himself all the *Pleasure* that can be expected from the united Beauties of *Art* and *Nature*. And if his *Judgment* be equal to his *Fancy*, the Result of *both* will
infal-

The Author's Preface.

infallibly furnish us with an admirable Mixture of *Profit* and *Delight*, by a pathetic description of the dismal Accidents that are usually either the *Companions* or *Effects* of such strange and surprizing *Revolutions*, by a faithful Representation of the Characters of the principal *Actors*, and by rendring those Illustrious Persons all the Justice that is due to their Merit.

It will not be improper to anticipate the curiosity of the Reader by acquainting him, That the following *History* will present him with a view of the *Swedish Nobility* distracted by intestine Divisions, seldom or never regarding their Duty to their Sovereign, extremely jealous of the excessive Power of the Bishops, and envious of their exorbitant Riches. The *Prelates* incroaching upon the Prerogative, and and usurping the Rights of the Crown; and often prophaning the Sanctity of their Character in the Tumults of War and Rebellion. The *whole Kingdom* divided betwixt the contending Factions; and the neighbouring *Danes* fomenting their Divisions, first cajoling one Party, and then attacking both. The *Senate* and *Nobility* massacr'd, the *Commons* reduc'd to a deplorable and almost desperate Extremity, and the very Foundations of the *Monarchy* shaken. A *People* without a *King* or *Senate*, without *Officers* and *Soldiers*; a *Country* without a *Defender*, and just ready to be made an unhappy *Province* of *Denmark*: When the *Scene* is suddenly chang'd by the appearance of a *Prince* whose Glorious *Atchievements* have eterniz'd his *Memory*, whose *Posterity* has been ever since, and is now in possession of the Crown, who by his *Conduct* and *Valour* expell'd the insulting *Danes*, and by an inimitable Policy recover'd the Power and Revenues which the *Clergy* and *Nobility* had usurp'd during the Reigns of his *Predecessors*.

Here

The Author's Preface.

Here a considering Person may observe, that those very *Riches* which in the guiltless Infancy of the Church were at once the Glorious *Testimony* and the bountiful *Reward* of the Vertue and Piety of its *Ministers*, became in the latter and degenerate Ages the fatal Source of those *Disorders* which were afterwards made use of as a *Pretext* to deprive the *Clergy* of those Advantages which they had so grossly abus'd.

And here the Attentive Reader may behold an *Elective* Kingdom made *Successive* and *Hereditary*, by the Valour and Policy of a *Prince*, who cut out his *Fortune* with his *Sword*, who from a close *Imprisonment* in his *Enemies* Country, and a miserable *Exile* in his own, rais'd himself to the *Throne*, who alter'd the very *Form* of the *Government* according to his *Interest* and *Inclination*, and was at once the absolute *Master* of his *Subjects* at home, and the *Terror* of his *Enemies* abroad.

I have often reflected upon the *Carelessness* and *Un sincerity* of those who have attempted to write the History of *Sweden*: All the Accounts they have left us of those Transactions are either very *partial* or very *lame*; some of 'em disguise the *Truth*, and others leave us wholly in the dark as to the *Motives* and *Reasons* that were the secret Causes of those Memorable *Revolutions*. But the *Faults* I observ'd in these Writers serv'd only to quicken my *Curiosity*; The more obvious and unaccountable the *Contradictions* I found in 'em seem'd to be, the greater care I took to reconcile 'em; and the oftner I perceiv'd that these Authors had confounded *Truth* with *Falshood*, the more earnestly I labour'd to distinguish 'em from each other, and with equal diligence endeavour'd to preserve the *former* and avoid the *latter*. I made it my business, for some time, to fit my self for such an Undertaking, by an attentive perusal of all those *Historians*, whether

* *Swedes*,

The Author's Preface.

* *Ericus Upsalienfis. Chorographia Scandinaviae Adami Bremensis. Tumba veterum apud Sueones Gothofq; Regum. Exegesis de quinque primariis Suecorum Gothorumque antiquis emporiis. Retorsio adversus Petram Parvum. Jacobus Zigelius testis oculatus Cædis Holmiensis. Huifeld. Annales Episcoporum Slevincensium. Theatrum nobilitatis Suecane, Messenii. Joannes Gothus Magnus. Olaus Magnus. Pontanus Saxo Grammaticus. Laccenius. Schefferus. Clytræus. Bazius. Buræus. Pufendorf. Vita Archiepiscopi Upsalienfis. Crantzius. Pastorius. Meursius. Scandia illustrata Messenii. Antiquitates Suecogothicae Laccenii. Monsieur de Thoa. Fiorimond de Renoud. Varillas. Maimbourg.*

* *Suedes, Danes, Germans, or French; Catholics or Protestants.* I read 'em without prejudice or passion, and without any other Interest or Desire, than to discover the *Truth*, and to communicate an exact account of it to the Public. And I think I may be allow'd to hope, without vanity, that the nicest Reader will not accuse me of *Partiality*; a Fault which I always abhor'd as absolutely inconsistent with the Candor and Ingenuity of an *Exact Historian*.

I have not always prais'd the Heads of the *Catholic* Party, because I cou'd not without Injustice commend all their Actions. It must be acknowledg'd, they had the good fortune to support the Interest of those who profess the *True Religion*; but their *External Zeal* was seldom accompany'd with a sincere and inward Faith; and they were oftentimes less concern'd for the Defence of their Religion, than for the Preservation of the *Riches* and other *Advantages* it procur'd 'em.

Nor have I upon all occasions either blam'd or despis'd the Heads of the *Protestant* Faction; because I found that, in several Cases, they deserv'd neither *Censure* nor *Contempt*. In a word, I have been scrupulously careful to distinguish *Error* from *Malice*, and have always preserv'd a due regard to the *Great Endowments* and admirable *Qualities*, which *GOD*, as the *Author of Nature*, bestow'd upon those whose Minds he did not think fit to illuminate with the Knowledge of the *True Religion*.

Since

SInce there are only Four of *GUSTAVUS*'s Sons, and one of his Wives, mention'd in the following History, 'twas presum'd the vacancy of these Pages cou'd not be better fill'd up than with a particular Account of his Wives and Children; that the curious Reader might be acquainted with the Domestic Affairs as well as with the Public Actions of that Illustrious Monarch,

Gustavus the Son of *Eric*, was chosen King of Sweden Anno 1523, Crown'd 1528, and Dy'd 1560.

He was successively Marry'd to Three Wives, viz.

I. *Katherine*, the Daughter of *Magnus* Duke of Saxony; by whom he had his Eldest Son and Successor,

Eric XIV. Born 1533, Crown'd 1562, Depos'd 1568, Dy'd 1577.

II. *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Eric Abrahami* of Loholm, Governor of West-Gothland, whom he Marry'd Anno 1536; She made him the Father of these Children.

1. *John*, Born 1527, Crown'd King of Sweden 1569, Dy'd 1592.

2. *Catherine*, who in the year 1559 was Marry'd to *Ezard* Count of East-Friezland.

3. *Cecilia*, Marry'd to *Christopher* Marquess of Baden Anno 1564.

4. *Magnus*, Duke of East-Gothland, who dy'd 1592.

5. *Steno*, who dy'd young.

6. *Anne*

6. *Anne*, who Marry'd *George John Count Palatine of the Rhine*, and *Duke of Bavaria*, Anno 1563.

7. *Charles*, who dy'd an Infant.

8. *Sophia*, who was Marry'd to *Magnus Duke of Saxony* 1568.

9. *Elizabeth*, who Married *Christopher Duke of Mecklenburgh*.

10. *Charles*, Born 1550, Crown'd King of *Sweden* 1607, Dy'd 1611.

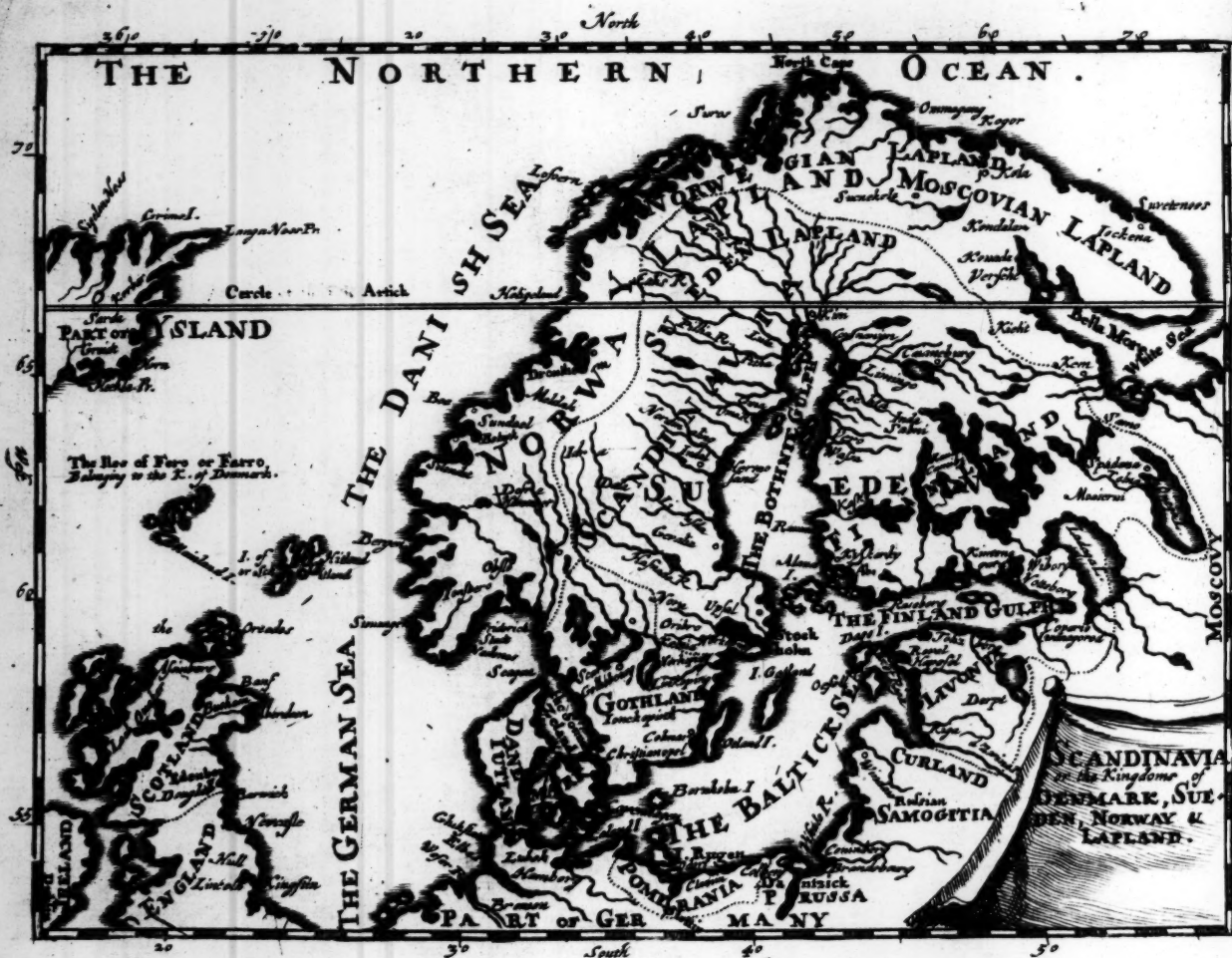
Queen Margaret dy'd 1551; and the next year *Gustavus* Marry'd his third and last Wife,

III. *Katherine*, the Daughter of *Gustavus Olai*, Baron of *Torpa*, and Governor of *West-Gothland*, by whom he had no Issue.

ADVERTISEMENT.

There is now in the Press, and will be Publish'd in Michaelmas-Term, THE Universal English Dictionary, explaining the Sense and Etymology of all English Words; with Select Phrases shewing the Force, Significancy, Construction, and different Acceptations of every Word, the native and borrow'd Graces, and all the remarkable Peculiarities of the English Idiom. And in particular containing an Explanatory account of all difficult and unusual Words, whether such as are Obsolete, or not yet universally receiv'd; With a full and distinct Interpretation of the Terms, Phrases, and Expressions us'd in all Sciences and Arts. The whole digested into an Alphabetical, and the most natural Order, the Derivatives and Compounds being rank'd after the Primitive; and Enrich'd with many Thousands of Words that were never inserted in any other Dictionary. Illustrated with Figures curiously Engraven on Copper Plates, representing all the parts of a Humane Body, of a Horse, Ship, Fort, and several other things that cannot be well understood without such a Help to the Imagination, especially Geometrical Figures, &c. To all which is added a Collection of the Words and Phrases that are peculiar to the several Counties of England. Some of the Parts done, and the whole Revis'd by J. Mitchell, M. D. A Larger and more particular Account of the Design and Method of this Great and Useful Work, with a Specimen, may be had of the Undertaker *Abel Swall* at the *Unicorn* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

A N



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Revolutions
IN
SWEDEN.

SWEDEN was antiently an *Elective Kingdom*, and was still such about the middle of the *Fourteenth Age*; for tho' the Children and nearest Relations of the Deceas'd Monarch were usually advanc'd to the Throne, the Order of *Birth-right* was sometimes neglected, and the Succession was always determin'd by *Choice*. And by virtue of this Right of *Election*, the Swedes oftentimes claim'd a Power to *Depose* their Sovereigns, when they inroach'd upon the Liberty and Priviledges of the Nation.

1350.
W

The *Royal Authority* was confin'd within very narrow Limits; for the King cou'd neither make War nor Peace, and much less raise Money or Souldiers without the Consent of the *Senate*, or of the *Estates* when they were assembl'd: 'Twas not lawful for him to erect new Forts, or to put

B

the



1282. the Government of the old Castles into the Hands of Strangers. The bringing of Foreign Troops into the Kingdom, wou'd have infallibly expos'd him to the Danger of an Universal Revolt : For every thing that might serve to extend, or even to confirm the *Prerogative*, was hated and suspected by the *People*, who were as jealous of the Power of their *Sovereigns*, as of that of their *Neighbours* and *Enemies*.

The *Patrimonial Revenue* of the *Crown*, consisted only in certain small Territories near *Upsal*, and in a very easie Tribute which was exacted from the *Peasants* by way of a *Poll-Tax*. In the Reign of King *Magnus Ladaslafz*, the *Copper Mines*, the *Sovereignty* of the three great Lakes *Meler*, *Vener*, and *Veter*, and the Right of *Fishing* upon the Coast of the *Baltick Sea*, where by the Senate reunited to the *Crown*; and by the same Authority it was ordain'd, That they who had purchas'd untill'd Lands held in *Fee*, or a Right to *Pasturage* in the *Forests*, should afterwards pay those Duties to the *Crown*, from which they had freed themselves during the *Civil Wars*. Since by the Laws of the Kingdom, there were few Offences punishable with *Death*, the *Fines* and *Forfeitures* that were exacted on such Occasions, were of old a considerable Branch of the *King's Revenue*; but the *Bishops* and *Clergy* had seiz'd on the *Profits* which accru'd that way, and perhaps colour'd their *Injustice* with a *Pretext* that these *Fines* belong'd to the *Church*, as a kind of *Expiation* or *Atonement* for the *Crimes* of the *Malefactors*.

The *Fiefs* or *Mannors*, and the Governments of Castles, which at first were only granted for *Life*, or for a *Term of Years*, were insensibly chang'd to *Hereditary Possessions*: For the *Noble men* who enjoy'd 'em, neglected the *Payment* of the usual Duties for those *Posts* which they held by no other

Title

Revolutions in Sweden.

3

1282.

Title but their own Power, and the Weakness of the Crown. And the *Bishops*, and others of the *Clergy*, who were possess'd of such Places, made use of the plausible Pretext of *Religion*, to claim an Exemption from the Duties they were oblig'd to pay for those Estates which they pretended were devolv'd to the Church, and become part of its Patrimony. Thus the *Clergy* and *Nobility* had, by several Usurpations, engross'd so great a part of the *Prince's Revenue*, that the Remainder at that time was scarce sufficient to maintain 500 Horse. The *King* was almost only consider'd as the *Captain General* of the State during the *War*, and as the *President of the Senate* in time of *Peace*: 'Tis true, the former of these Junctures was always most favourable to the Prerogative, especially when the War was carry'd on with Success against the Enemies of the Nation; but the Conclusion of a Peace put a stop to his growing Authority, and left him only a Power to call a Meeting of the Estates, to propose Matter for their Deliberation, and to execute their Decrees.

The Publick Authority was almost entirely lodg'd in the *Senate*, which was usually compos'd of *Twelve Lords*, who for the most part were Governors of Provinces, or Principal Officers of State. These Lords attended the *King* at *Stockholm*, the Capital City of the Kingdom, when any Important Affairs were to be transacted. The *Archbishop of Upsal*, Primate of *Sweden*, *Lincolne*, was a Senator by his Office; and the *six Bishops* of the Kingdom bore a great Sway in the Meeting of the *Estates*, tho' they had no right to sit in the *Senate*, unless they were nominated by the *King*, or chosen by the Estates during an *Interregnum*. The Dignity of a Senator was not Hereditary, for the Nomination of those Officers was a Branch of the Royal Prerogative; and some of the Bishops, or principal Lords of the Kingdom, were chosen by the *King* to supply the vacant Places, who by this means had a fair Opportunity

1350.

Siregnez, Vesterås, Scarb, Åbo, and Vexio.

1282.

1282.



tunity to introduce his Friends and Creatures into the *Senate*. But he was frequently disappointed in his Choice, and for the most part lost a *Friend* when he made him a *Senator*: For the nearer a Favorite was advanc'd to his Master's Power and Authority, he was the farther remov'd from his Interest. And besides, the Love of Liberty and Affection to their Country, were in those days the predominant Passions of the *Swedes*; nor cou'd any Engagement or Obligation weaken the Bias of so powerful an Inclination.

The *Senate* which at first was only instituted as a *Council* to advise the King, had by degrees assum'd an Authority over his Actions. The eldest Senator pretended a Right to admonish and check the Prince, when he transgress'd the Limits of his Prerogative. The People look'd upon the Senators as the Protectors of the Liberty and Privileges of the Nation. The Sovereign Power and Majesty of the State was properly lodg'd in that Body. Their Justice was administer'd Independently and without Appeal, and both War and Peace depended on their Deliberations. 'Tis true they acted joyntly with the King, but he was oftentimes oblig'd to content himself with the Honour of executing their Resolutions.

The *Clergy* were possess'd of greater Riches than the King and all the other Estates of the Kingdom. The *Archbishop* of *Upsal* and his six *Suffragans*, maintain'd their Dignity with all the Splendor that a vast Treasure cou'd enable 'em to display. They were for the most part the Temporal Lords of their Episcopal Sees: And besides the Possessions that were annex'd to their Bishopricks, which consisted in several considerable *Signiores* or Lordships, they had made themselves Heirs to all the Ecclesiasticks that died Intestate in their respective Diocesses, which by degrees had extreamly augmented their Revenues. They enjoy'd the Profits of Fines and Forfeitures which formerly



formerly belong'd to the Crown, and by several Foundations and Pious Legacies, had made themselves Masters of a considerable number of the King's Mannors and *Fiefs*. The Patrimony of the Church was daily augmented by *Donations*; but cou'd never be diminish'd by *Sale* or *Alienation*, for such Practices were forbidden by exprefs Laws; which were as prejudicial to the *Laity*, as advantageous to the *Clergy*, and serv'd only to establish the Grandeur of the latter, upon the Ruins of the former.

The *Bishops* made so good Use of the Influence they had over the People at Elections, and of the Need all the Pretenders had of their Votes and Interest, that they obtain'd on such Occasions several Privileges, which did very considerably diminish both the Revenue and Authority of the Prince. They exacted what Conditions they pleas'd of the King, before they wou'd own him to be their Sovereign: And before they wou'd perform the Ceremony of his Coronation, they oblig'd him to Swear, That he wou'd inviolably preserve 'em in the Possession of their Rights and Priviledges; That he wou'd never attempt to put a Garrison into any of their Castles or Forts; That the Lands and *Fiefs* which they enjoy'd, by what Means soever they had come to the Possession of 'em, shou'd not be re-united to the Crown; and at the same time they made him Sign a Paper, declaring that he consented to his own Deposition, if ever he shou'd violate his Oath by encroaching upon their Priviledges.

These *Prelates* grew so proud of their Riches, and of the number of their Vassals, that they began by degrees, to act like so many little Sovereigns. They fortify'd their Castles, and kept Garrisons in 'em: They never appear'd without a numerous Attendance of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and were still at the Head of all Factions and Intrigues. They frequently took up Arms against their Neighbours, for

1282. Differences relating to their Vassals, or about the Limits of their Estates; and even sometimes scrupl'd not to march at the Head of an Army against their Sovereign, especially when they suspected him of a Design to recover the Duties and Lands that belong'd to the Crown.

The *Lords* and *Gentlemen* fortify'd their Castles, and made 'em the Seats of their petty Empires. They treated their Vassals like menial Servants, tho' they allow'd 'em no Wages; they made 'em Till their Lands, and oftentimes oblig'd 'em to take up Arms to make Incursions into the Territories of their Neighbours. The *Swedish Nobility* was not then distinguish'd by the Titles of *Baron*, *Count*, or *Marquess*, or by Hereditary Names of Families: They were only known by the respective *Arms* of their Houses, and by their Fathers Name, which they bore jointly with their own; and were noted only for their Valour, and for the numerous Train of Vassals that follow'd 'em to the War. They defended their Rights, and reveng'd the Injuries they receiv'd, by Force of Arms, and neither sought nor expected Redress from the publick Justice, because there was no Power in the Government to put the Laws in Execution. Force was the Standard of Law and Justice, and the Supream Decider of all sorts of Controversies.

*Gustavus
Ericson, i.e.
Gustavus
the Son of
Eric.*

The *Burgbers* of *Stockholm*, and the Inhabitants of other *Maritime* Towns, who subsisted merely by Trading, were more submissive to the King, and better affected to the Government. The *Merchants* especially were so dishearten'd by that Lawless Liberty, which expos'd 'em to the Insolency of every Potent Oppressor, that they wou'd have willingly consented to invest the Prince with a sufficient Authority to restore the Publick Quiet; and establish the Trade of the Nation in a flourishing Condition: But there were so few Cities in the Kingdom, that their Deputies had no great Interest, and were not much regarded in the *Diets*. The

The *Peasants*, on the contrary, who in this Kingdom have the peculiar Privilege to send Deputies of their own Body to the *Estates*, out of a blind Obedience to their Lords, were obstinate Asserters of the Liberties and Privileges of their Provinces. Those who liv'd in fertile Countries apply'd themselves to *Husbandry*; but in *Helsingland*, *Cuestricland*, *Angermeland*, and other Northern Provinces, they spent their time in *Hunting* Fallow-Deer, which furnish'd 'em with *Meat* for their Subsistence, and Skins for the Prince's Tribute. They were mere Savages, for the most part bred in Woods, jealous of their Customs, and having little to lose, were ready upon the least Occasion to rise up in Arms and revolt against the Government. *Idolatry* was still openly profess'd in some of their Villages, and *Christianity* prevail'd in others; but their Religion was so disfigur'd by a Mixture of their Ancient Superstitions, that they scarce retain'd more of it than the bare Name of *Christians*.

The *Peasants* were the most numerous and potent Body of the State: Some of 'em held immediately of the Crown, and sent Deputies to the *Diets*; and the rest were Vassals to the Clergy and Nobility: Tho' the Tribute they paid to the King was very easy and inconsiderable, he was oftentimes oblig'd to levy it by Force, and to send some regulated Troops to the Forrests and Mountains, for the Security of those who were appointed to collect his Duties. They seldom or never contributed their Assistance to the Preservation of the State, but in the Quality of Soldiers; and even in that Case they thought themselves oblig'd only to defend the Frontiers of their respective Provinces, and always claim'd the Privilege of chusing their own Leaders.

In all other Respects they lov'd almost without any Dependence upon the Court, and even without any Union or Concord among themselves; being equally

1282. incapable of *Society*, and *Submission*, and affecting rather an untractable *Wildness* than a generous *Liberty*.

If we reflect upon the Independency of the Subjects, the limited Authority of the Sovereign, and the different Interests of the several Orders that compos'd the State, 'twill not appear Strange, that the Kingdom was almost perpetually harass'd with Insurrections and Civil Wars. Most of the Kings aspir'd at a more absolute Authority, and some of 'em by the Assistance of their Friends and Creatures, endeavour'd to make themselves Masters of the Government, and to shake off their Dependance on the Senate: But the People were so far from being unconcern'd Spectators of an open Violation of the Liberties and Privileges of the Nation, that the very Shadow and least Appearance of *Arbitrary Power* occasion'd an universal Revolt, and re-united all the States against the King.

The *Bishops* were afraid of Reprizals under too powerful a Prince, who might seize upon his alienated Revenues, and perhaps confine the Clergy within the Limits of their Profession: The *Noblemen* took up Arms to defend the Privileges that made 'em in a manner Independent; and the *Peasants*, without comprehending their true Interest, fought with the utmost Vigor and Obstinacy for the Preservation of certain Customs that were useless to the Public, but agreeable to their Savage Temper. The whole Kingdom was a perpetual Scene of Seditions, Desolation, and Revolts: The Fate of the King seem'd to be in the Hands of his Subjects, and to depend on their Capricious Humours, and several Princes were driven out of the Kingdom, for attempting to make themselves *Absolute*.

The Jealousy, that reign'd among the principal Families of the Kingdom, made 'em willing to retain the Title and Dignity of a *King*: But at the same time

Revolutions in Sweden.

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time they resolv'd to bestow that honour only upon a Foreign Prince, that having no private Estate in the Kingdom, and being wholly destitute of Relations and Creatures, they might oblige him to content himself with as much Authority as they thought fit to allow him.

1282.



About the year 1363. *Magnus Smeck*, reign'd in Sweden: he had two Sons, *Eric* and *Haquin*, by his Wife *Blanch*, Daughter to the Count of *Namur*. The Elder of these Princes being dead, the People of *Norway* bestow'd the Crown of that Kingdom upon the Younger, who by his Father's Advice had marry'd *Margaret* Daughter to *Waldemar IV.* King of *Denmark*. *Magnus* having secur'd *Norway*, and being supported by his *Danish* Alliance, wou'd not let slip so favourable an Opportunity to make himself absolute in *Sweden*, by abolishing the Senate of that Kingdom: And perhaps that Project was conferted by all the Three Kings, and design'd to be put in Execution in their respective Kingdoms, to rid themselves of that dreaded Assembly which check'd their growing Authority and controul'd all their ambitious Designs. But as soon as the *Swedes* discover'd the Intentions and Correspondence of these three Princes, they took up Arms immediately, and *Sweden* became the Theatre of a cruel and bloody War. *Waldemar*, during his Life, was very diligent in assisting his Allay; and *Haquin* sent a considerable Body of Men to re-inforce his Father's Army: But the *Swedes* alone, who were always strong enough when they fought for the Defence of their Liberty, routed the Joynt-Forces of these three Monarchs, and at last drove *Magnus* out of the Kingdom, esteeming themselves sufficiently rewarded for all the Blood they had spent in the Cause, by the Liberty they had to chuse a new Sovereign. They proceeded immediately to an Election, and the Choice fell upon Prince *Albert*, second Son to the Duke

1363.

1365.

1365. Duke of *Mickelburgh*, and Nephew to the late King *Magnus*, excluding King *Haquin*, and *Henry*, *Albert's* Elder Brother, whom they hated and suspected, as persons who had always promoted the Interest of the Prince whom they had lately dethron'd.

Thus *Albert* ow'd his Advancement to the impatient Humour of the *Swedes*, who cou'd not bear the Yoke of too absolute a power. Before his Accession to the Crown, that he might promote his own Interest he seem'd to embrace that of the People; but as soon as he found himself fix'd upon the Throne, he began to follow the Maxims of his Predecessors, and study'd the most promising Methods by which he might make himself the absolute Master of his Subjects.

The Senate was the object both of his Jealousy, and Aversion; but the Fate of King *Magnus* deterr'd him from attempting to abolish that powerful Body, much less cou'd he hope either to gain or over-aw those rich and potent Lords that look'd upon themselves rather as his *Tutors* than *Councellers*. And therefore to ballance their Authority, he sent for some Princes of his Family, and several *German* Lords and Captains, whom he intrusted with the Command of the Troops and principal Forts of the Kingdom. He introduc'd some of these Strangers, into the Senate, against the fundamental Laws of the State; and under various pretexts brought into *Sweden* a considerable Number of Foreign Troops, who began to render him terrible to his own Subjects. Then he proceeded to impose exorbitant Takes upon the People for the payment of his Army: But this politic Contrivance to establish his Authority being push'd on too far, serv'd only to hasten his Destruction; for the *Swedes* grew jealous of their Privileges, and resolv'd to shake off that rigorous Yoke which they were not accusom'd to bear.

Margaret

Revolutions of Sweden.

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Margaret the Daughter of *Waldemar* King in *Denmark*, and Widow of *Haquin* King of *Norway*, was at the same time possess'd of the Crowns of both these Kingdoms. For after the Death of the King her Husband, who did not long Survive the Defeat and Abdication of his Father King *Magnus*, the States of *Norway* intrusted her with the Regency of the Kingdom, and the Guardianship of her Son *Olaus*. And during her Administration of the Government she made so good Use of her Time, and manag'd her designs with so much Dexterity and Success, that when the young Prince dyed, the *Norwegians* found they were not at liberty to proceed to a new Choice.

1365.

She was Mistress of the Army, and of the Forts or places of Strength; so that the Principal Lords of the Kingdom, who were not gain'd to her party, durst not seem dissatisfi'd nor so much as indifferent at a Time when they cou'd not without Danger discover their true Sentiments. Thus *Margaret* was elected by the Estates, and exchange'd the Quality of a *Regent* for that of a *Sovereign Queen*, having already born the same Title as the Wife of King *Haquin*.

1374.

King *Waldemar* her Father dying the same Year, without leaving any Prince of his Blood whom the *Danes* might chuse for his Successor, she sent Deputies to the States General of the Kingdom to Solicite her Election to that Crown. *Henry* of *Meckelburgh*, the Elder brother of *Albert* King of *Sweden*, and Husband of her Elder Sister the Princess *Ingelburge*, employ'd his interest to obtain the same Dignity; and flattering himself with the advantage he had of being a Son-in-Law to the deceas'd King, thought he might easily contend with a Female Competitor: But the Queen's Agents drew such convincing Arguments from the *Merit*, and perhaps also from the *Money* of their Mistress, that she was unanimously elected

1379. elected by the whole Assembly, and proclaim'd Queen of *Denmark* in the Meeting of the Estates. As soon as she receiv'd the News of her Advancement, she left *Norway*, and went immediately to *Copenhagen*, where she fixt the Seat of her Empire.

This Princess, who by some is call'd the *Semiramis of the North*, besides the usual Ambition of her Sex, was Mistress of a Dexterity in the Management of Affairs, and of a Capacity to form a long Series of coherent Projects, that are rarely observ'd in a Woman. Her Inclinations to Love were suitable to her Character and Dignity, that is, she was not really in love with any thing but Glory, or sensible of any Passion but her Ambition to extend the limits of her Empire, and advance her Authority.

She rejoyc'd in secret at the Dissatisfaction of the *Swedes*, and endeavour'd to gain some of the Leading Men of that Nation. She bestow'd Pensions and an honourable Entertainment on those that were ill treated by King *Albert*, and openly blam'd his injustice in violating the Liberty and Privileges of his Subjects. That Prince was daily laying new Impositions upon his People, without the consent either of the Estates or Senat, and had already Squeez'd considerable Sums out of the Clergy by way of Loans: But nothing render'd him more odious both to the Bishops and Nobility, than his Reuniting to the Crown the third part of those *Fiefs* or Estates to which the Clergy and Gentry claim'd a right by vertue of so long a Possession.

This was the fatal signal of an universal Revolt; the *Swedes* conspir'd unanimously against him, resolving to drive him out of the Kingdom, and to offer the Crown to Queen *Margaret*. They imagin'd that she had already so much business in *Denmark* that she wou'd content her self with almost the bare Title of *Queen of Sweden*: And tho' she shou'd endeavour

endeavour to stretch the Prerogative too far, they concluded that the *Danes* and *Norwegians* wou'd unite all their Forces to keep their common Sovereign in a dependence on the Estates and Senate of each Kingdom. 1375.

In pursuance of this Design, they secretly deputed some of the most considerable Lords of the Kingdom to offer her the Crown, and she receiv'd the Proposal with joy as the most probable means to secure the Peace of *Denmark*. For the violent Animosity that reign'd betwixt the Subjects of both Nations, was of as ancient a date as the Foundation of the two Kingdoms; and that Antipathy, which is usually observ'd betwixt Neighbouring States, had all along been a perpetual source of War, which had oftentimes prov'd fatal to *Denmark*. And besides, this prudent Princess concluded, that her new Advancement might one day furnish her with an opportunity to unite *Sweden* to *Denmark*. These considerations made her resolve to give a favourable answer to the Proposals of the Male-contents: She agreed with their Deputies that the Nobility shou'd rise up in Arms, that they shou'd acquaint King *Albert* with his Deposition, that the Army and Estates shou'd publicly acknowledge her to be their Sovereign, and that after her Election she shou'd be oblig'd to send a considerable Body of Troops to support and defend 'em.

The Treaty being sign'd, the *Swedes* immediately took up arms against the King, and sent a Herald to intimate and declare that they renounc'd the Allegiance they had sworn to him. At the same time they proclaim'd *Margaret de Waldemar*, Queen of *Sweden*, and as soon as they had receiv'd the Reinforcement which they expected from that Princess, the united Armies march'd towards *West-Gotbland*, where King *Albert* was drawing his Forces together to oppose 'em. That Prince had taken all possible care 1385.

1385. care to put himself in a posture of defence: he had rais'd a considerable Body of Troops, obtain'd the Assistance of several *German* Princes who were either his Relations or Allies, and mortgag'd the Isle of *Gothland* for the payment of twenty Thousand *Rose-Nobles* of the Coin of *England*, which he borrow'd of the Knights of the *Teutonic Order* to maintain the Charge of the War. But all these preparations cou'd not divert his impending Fate: The two Armies met near *Faloping*, and *Albert* was not only defeated, but had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of his Enemies, with his Son Prince *Eric*, and the principal Lords of his Party.

The Princes of the House of *Meckelburgh*, and *Gerard* Count of *Holstein* endeavour'd to revive the drooping Hopes of this unfortunate Prince. They levy'd new Troops, and obtain'd considerable Succours from the *Hans-Towns* who were jealous of the Queen's Power, and dreaded the successful progress of her Arms. Thus *Sweden* was made a prey to several different and jarring Nations, who seem'd only to agree in a Design to ruin that Kingdom; and amidst so many Disasters, the poor Inhabitants cou'd not distinguish their Friends from their Enemies. The War lasted almost seven Years with extraordinary Fury, and a vast expence of Blood: And the Peace that succeeded was rather an effect of the Weariness of the two contending Parties, than of any Abatement of the Rage that animated 'em. 1392. *Albert* was at last constrain'd to exchange his Crown for his Liberty, and retir'd to his Native Country; after which Queen *Margaret's* Title to the Crowns of the Three Kingdoms of the North was universally own'd and acknowledg'd.

The *Swedes* seeing themselves subject to a Princess that had no Children, and fearing that after her Death King *Albert* or the Prince his Son might re-
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new their pretensions to the Crown, intreated her to secure the happiness of the Kingdom by an advantageous Match. This Proposal, however intended, was not at all welcome to the Queen: She was too fond of the Sovereign Power to share it with a Husband: Yet that she might not seem to slight the Petition of her new Subjects, she consented to appoint her Successor. But at the same Time she resolv'd to chuse a Prince whose tender Age might secure the quiet of her Government, and keep him from attempting to mount the Throne during her Life. In pursuance of this Resolution she sent for Prince Henry of Pomerania the Son of Wartislas VII, and of Mary of Meckelburgh, the Daughter of Henry of Meckelburgh and of Ingelburge the Queen's Elder Sister. She order'd him to be call'd Eric, a Name which Twelve Kings of Sweden had already born, resolving to educate him at her Court, and to make him the Heir of the Three Northern Crowns.

The Form of Government in these Kingdoms was almost the same: All three were *Elective*, and every Nation had its *Senate*, without whose advice, or the consent of the *Estates*, the Prince cou'd not undertake any important Affair. In order to the Accomplishment of her great Design, the Queen spent some time in gaining Creatures, and securing the interest of some of the Leading Men of each Nation. And as soon as she found her Project ripe for Execution, she call'd a Meeting or *Convention* of the *Estates* of her Three Kingdoms to be held at Calmar in Sweden, whither Forty Deputies of each Nation repair'd to establish a Fundamental Law, for the uniting of the Three Kingdoms under one Monarch.

The Queen presented the young Duke of Pomerania to the *Convention*, and entreated 'em to confirm her Choice. She endeavour'd with a great deal

1392. deal of Eloquence to make 'em sensible of the advantages they might expect by obeying the same Sovereign ; and put 'em in mind of the happy consequences of her Election, which had establish'd the public Tranquillity, and compos'd all those fatal Animosities that are wont to disturb the quiet of Neighbouring States. She represented to 'em the inviting prospect they had of making themselves Masters of all the Trade of the *Baltic Sea*, and that the *Hanse-Towns* cou'd never afterwards enrich themselves by their Divisions ; adding that the only way to perpetuate these advantages, and to make the Union solid and durable, was to unite the Three Kingdoms into one Monarchy, by a solemn and Fundamental Law.

1395. The Presence of so great a Princess, the solidity of her Arguments, the Applauses and Interest of her Creatures, either gain'd or commanded the Consent of all the Deputies. The Election of the Duke of *Pomerania* was unanimously approv'd, and the Three Kingdoms of the North were united under that Prince and his Successors, by a Fundamental Law, which was receiv'd by the Three Nations, and confirm'd by the most solemn Oaths.

This Celebrated *Union of Calmar* instead of establishing a lasting Concord betwixt the Northern Kingdoms, was the fatal occasion of those bloody Wars that kept *Sweden and Denmark* in a perpetual Flame for above a hundred Years. It consisted of *Three Main Articles*, which seem'd to have been fram'd on purpose to secure the liberty and Independence of each Nation. By the *First* 'twas ordain'd that these three Kingdoms which by the constitution of their Government were *Elective* shou'd afterwards be Subject to one King, who shou'd be elected by turns in each Kingdom ; and that the Royal Dignity shou'd not be appropriated to any one Nation to the prejudice or Exclusion of the rest, unless



unless the deceased Prince shou'd leave Children or Relations, whom the *Convention* of the three *Estates* shou'd judge worthy to succeed him. The *Second* oblig'd the Sovereign to share his Presence betwixt the three *Realms*, and to spend the Revenue of each Crown in the respective Kingdom, without exporting the Money he receiv'd, or applying it to any other use than the particular advantage and benefit of the Kingdom where 'twas levy'd. And by the *Third* and most important Article 'twas provided, that each Kingdom should retain its Senate, Laws, Customs, and Privileges; that the Governors, Magistrates, Generals, Bishops, Souldiers and Garrisons shou'd be Natives of the Kingdom where they were employ'd; and that the King shou'd never dispose of any of these Posts to Foreigners, or to the Subjects of his other Kingdoms who shou'd be reputed *Foreigners* and *Alians* to the Government of the Countrey where they were not born.

The *Swedes* were extremely pleas'd to think that the Royal Prerogative was so effectually restrain'd by this Treaty, that the *Sovereign* cou'd never afterwards invade the liberties of the *Subject*. But they were soon convinc'd of their Error, and both saw and felt the fatal Consequences of their mistaken Policy. The Queen was too Powerful and Ambitious to content her self with so limited an Authority. She was scarce settl'd upon the Throne of *Sweden*; when she began to extend her Power, and endeavour'd with an extraordinary Application to make her self the Absolute Mistress of the Kingdom. She seiz'd on all the Principal Forts, which she cunningly got out of the Hands of the Gentry by proposing some tempting Exchange that might enrich their Families, but lessen their Power and augment their Dependance on the Court. She bestow'd most of the Vacant Govern-

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1513. ments on *Danish* Lords, against the Proviso expressly mention'd in the Treaty of *Calmar*, and by degrees remov'd the *Swedish* Nobility from all the considerable Places of Honour and Trust in the Kingdom. *Abraham Broderfon* a young *Swedish* Lord, who had a very graceful Mien and was admirably well shap'd, had the peculiar honour of her Favor: She gave him the Government of *Haland* and made him her only Confident. But her extraordinary kindness to a Man whose *Handsomeness* was his only *Merit*, instead of obliging the rest of his Countrymen, furnish'd the disaffected party with a new pretext to censure her Behaviour, and murmur against the Government. At last they adventur'd to express their dissatisfaction to the Queen her self: They went in a Body to attend her, and laid before her the Titles by which they held their Priviledges, and a Copy of the Treaty of *Calmar*, the Violation of which gaul'd 'em extreemly. But that cunning and imperious Princess was too well acquainted with her own Power to dread the Effects of their Impotent Rage: and instead of returning a Satisfactory Answer to their Address, she told 'em in a slighting and disdainful Manner, That she wou'd advise 'em to keep their *Charters and Titles as carefully as she intended to keep the Forts of the Kingdom*. She govern'd ever afterwards with an absolute Power, and endeavour'd to secure and confirm her Authority by keeping the Nobility at a distance from the management of State-Affairs, and empoverishing the Common People, that they might not be able to form, or at least to carry on a design against the Government.

But since these Politic cautions were not sufficient to restrain a Nation that had been accusom'd to Boundless Liberty, and was always ready to revolt upon the least Provocation; She made it her business to gain Creatures and to form a Party in the Kingdom that might be able to maintain her Authority

1514.

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thority and baffle all the Attempts of her Enemies. For the more effectual Prosecution of that design she cast her Eyes upon the *Clergy*, who were very potent, both by reason of their vast Riches and the great Number of their Vassals: Nor cou'd she have taken a better way to curb the fury of a grumbling and *Superstitious People*, who thought themselves oblig'd to be govern'd by the Maxims of their *Spiritual Guides*. There was not a Church in *Sweden* that did not receive some conspicuous Marks of her Bounty: She augmented the Power, and confirm'd all the Privileges of the Bishops, and afterwards admitted 'em to a share in the Government that their own Interest, and the Preservation of their Grandeur might oblige 'em to maintain the Authority of the Crown.

The Bishops gain'd by such high and distinguishing Favors, devoted themselves to the Interest of the Court; and the inferior Clergy follow'd their Example, both by reason of their dependence upon their Superiors, and because the Favor of the Court, and the Queen's Recommendation to the Chapters were the most effectual means to obtain a Bishoprick. The Lords and Gentlemen, who were already jealous of the Riches and Power of the Clergy, cou'd not without Grief and Indignation behold this new Addition to their Authority; but they were forc'd to content themselves with repining in secret during the life of the Queen. For that wise and powerful Princess entertain'd Private Spies among the Disaffected Party; and by that means was acquainted with all their Resolutions, and enabl'd to break all the Measures they cou'd take to shake off the Yoke she had impos'd upon 'em.

After her Death, King *Eric* succeeded in the Three Kingdoms, but did neither inherit her Power nor her Prudence. He retir'd to *Denmark*, and sent Governors to *Sweden* who treated the People of that Kingdom rather as *disarm'd Enemies*, than as free

Subjects.

1395. *Subjects.* The Nation was over-loaded with Taxes, and fill'd with Soldiers, who domineer'd over the wretched Inhabitants, and not only robb'd and plunder'd 'em without Controul, but added Scorn and Insolency to their Avarice and Barbarity. The Officers conniv'd at these Disorders, and rather encourag'd than check'd the Offenders. From whence it may be reasonably concluded that either they receiv'd a share of the Booty, or had secret Orders to tolerate these Abuses. The Complaints of the Oppress'd did not reach the Ears of the Prince, or were reject'd with Disdain: Nor could they hope to see an End, or so much as an Alleviation of their Misery without an entire Alteration of the Government. And therefore they resolv'd in so desperate a case to have recourse to the most violent remedies, and to free themselves from a Power that seem'd unjust at its first Establishment, and was now become Tyrannical and insupportable.

1434. *Engelbrecht*, a Gentleman of the Province of *Dale carlia*, was the first that adventur'd to appear in Arms, against the Public Oppressors of his Countrey. He rous'd the Courage of the Neighboring Peasants and engag'd 'em in the same design. They were a rude and simple People, Lovers of their Prince and Countrey, but jealous of their Privileges, and Enemies to Slavery and Oppression. He march'd at the head of his Tumultuary Forces, and cut to pieces some *Danish* Troops that endeavor'd to oppose his Progress. His Army was quickly reinforc'd by a multitude of Peasants whom the News of his success drew from the Neighboring Provinces: and not long after he was join'd by the Noblemen of *Westmania* and *Nericia*. He made himself master of *Up-land*; and his Presence and Fame engag'd several other Provinces in the Revolt. He abrogated the Taxes that were impos'd by King *Eric*, and raz'd all the New Forts which that Prince or his Predecessors

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cessors had built to keep the People in subjection to their Authority. The Senators who still acknowledged King *Eric* assembled at *Wadestein* to consult about the most proper Methods to put a stop to these Disturbances. But *Engelbrecht* hearing of their Design was resolv'd either to persuade or fright 'em into a Sense of their Duty. He march'd with all possible haste to the place appointed for their meeting, at the Head of a Thousand Peasants, and entering compleatly arm'd into the Assembly, represented to 'em the Injustice and Cruelty of the *Danish* Government, and swore he wou'd stab the first Man that shou'd venture to oppose the Preservation of his Country. The pathetic violence of his Discourse and the boldness of his Words and Actions, struck such a Terror into the Minds of the Senators, that they publicly renounc'd the Allegiance and Fealty they had sworn to King *Eric*.

Charles Canutson, Great *Mareschal* of *Sweden* and Governor of *Finland* comply'd with the Resolutions of the Senate. He was descended from the Illustrious Family of *Bonde*, which reckons several Kings of *Sweden* among its Ancestors. He saw with Joy that his Country was like to be speedily freed from the *Danish* Yoke, but he was vex'd to think that an ordinary Gentleman, such as *Engelbrecht*, shou'd carry away all the Glory of so noble an Attempt, and was even afraid lest the Peasants in the Heat of their Affection to their Deliverer, shou'd dispose of a Kingdom in his favor which they had almost entirely conquer'd under his Conduct. He went to that Gentleman's Army and sided with his Party on purpose that he might make himself the Head and Master of 'em: nor was he disappointed of his Hope, for he quickly obtain'd the Authority which was due to his Birth and Dignity.

He took advantage of the misunderstanding that was betwixt King *Eric* and the *Danes*. This Monarch seeing himself Master of Three Great King-

1434.

doms fancy'd himself above the Laws and Privileges of those Nations. He treated the *Danes* and *Norwegians* little better than the *Swedes*, and assum'd an arbitrary Power over a People who were willing to be his *Subjects* but cou'd not endure to be us'd like *Slaves*.

The Tyrannical Disposition of this Prince made him so odious to his Subjects, that all the three Kingdoms conspir'd against him; and the Revolt was so general; that there were none left to support him. The *Danes* drove him out of the Kingdom, and conferr'd the Crown upon his Nephew, *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, who immediately sent to the Estates of *Norway* and *Sweden*, requiring 'em to confirm his Election in pursuance of the *Treaty of Calmar*. The *Norwegians* acknowledg'd him as their Sovereign; but the *Great Marechal* of *Sweden* and the chief Noblemen of that Kingdom, endeavour'd to oppose his Advancement. They represented to the *Estates* that the Election of that Prince ought to be rejected, because the *Danes* had chosen him without the knowledge and Consent of their Allies: But the *Bishop* and *Clergy* made so strong an Interest for him, that his Election was confirm'd by the Plurality of Voices.

Sweden receiv'd no benefit by the Change of her Master. He follow'd the Maxims of his Predecessors; *Denmark* was his Favorite Kingdom, and he left no means unattempted to bring *Sweden* under the Dominion of that Crown; But Death prevent'd the Execution of his designs. He was succeeded by *Christiern I.* Count of *Oldenburg*, from whom the present King of *Denmark* is descended. The *Danes* advanc'd him to the Throne without asking or expecting the Approbation of the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*. Yet in imitation of his Predecessor he pretended that by vertue of his Election in *Denmark*, he had a just Title to the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Norway*.

but his Pretensions to the former were thwarted by the *Great Mareſchal Canuſon*, who oppos'd his pretended right with Great Courage and Reſolution.

That Lord had obſerv'd ever ſince *Engelbrecht's* Revolt, that the *Sweedes* were weary of living under the Dominion of a Foreign Power: And from that very time he began ſecretly to aſpire to the Crown, and to draw a Scheme of his future Advancement. His Office made him Maſter of the Forces and Militia of the Kingdom; he govern'd a large province, and was the richeſt Lord in *Sweden*. The Eſtates being aſſembled at *Stockholm*, the *Great Mareſchal* came thither at the Head of ſo numerous a Company of *Finlandiſh* Lords and Gentlemen, that 'twas generally concluded he wou'd be Maſter of the Election. He repreſented to the Aſſembly that the Treaty of *Calmar* was extreemly prejudicial to the whole Kingdom; that Queen *Margaret* and the Kings her Succeſſors had always made uſe of that pernicious Law as a Means and pretext to bring *Sweden* under Subjection to the Crown of *Denmark*; that the *Danes* treated 'em rather like *Slaves* than *Allies*, aſſuming a Power to impoſe a Sovereign upon 'em, without calling 'em to his Election; and that they cou'd only blame themſelves for ſo unworthy a Treatment, if they did not abrogate and diſannul an Alliance that was ſo diſhonourable to the Nation.

This Diſcourſe rous'd the languid Courage of the *Sweedes*, and awaken'd their ancient Aversion againſt the *Daniſh* Government. It put 'em in Mind of the Tyranny of King *Eric*; and every Man began to accuſe himſelf of Weakneſs and ſtupidity for ſubmitting to the Prince of *Bavaria*. The Election of the Count of *Oldenburgh* was rejected with a great deal of Vehemency; and the Royal Dignity was conſerr'd upon the *Great Mareſchal* as a Recompence for the Zeal he had always profeſs'd for the Intereſt

1448. of his Country. At the same time he manag'd the *Estates* of *Norway* so dexterously, and had so great an Influence over 'em, that he was chosen Sovereign of that Kingdom, whither he went, and was Crown'd at *Druntheim*, and intrusted the Government of the State to two of the Principal Lords of the Country.

The *Swedish* Bishops had been devoted to the Crown of *Denmark*, ever since Queen *Margaret* prefer'd 'em before the Nobility, in the Government of the Kingdom. They only gave their Consent to the Election of the *Great Marechal*, because they cou'd not oppose it; and were vex'd to behold the Increase of his power and Authority. He was not ignorant of their Spite and Aversion against him, and that they were only dissatisfied because he did not allow 'em a share in the Government. If he had consider'd their temporal Authority, he wou'd have soon perceiv'd that it was his true Interest to gain 'em: But he thought himself so well settl'd upon the Throne, that 'twas beyond the power of his most potent Adversaries to disturb the Quiet of his Reign. He resolv'd to humble those lofty Prelates, and concluded that the most effectual Way to make 'em harmless and submissive to the Government, was to deprive 'em of part of those vast Riches, which serv'd only to make 'em terrible to their Sovereign. He obtain'd an Order of the Senate to make an
452. Exact Inquiry into all the Rights of the Crown, and the public Revenues which the Clergy had usurp'd; and ordain'd that no person for the future shou'd erect any new *Foundations*, under pretext that the Superstition of the People wou'd give the Clergy an Opportunity by Degrees to make themselves Masters of all the Lands in the Kingdom.

The Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks were extremely incens'd at this *Declaration*. They affirm'd publicly that the King was a *Heretick*, and endeavour'd to perswade the people that this Invasion of their tem-
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poral Estates was only made use of as a Cloak to cover more pernicious Designs, and that the Blow was aim'd at *Religion* it self. To prevent the pretended Consequences of a Regulation that touch'd 'em in the most sensible part, they resolv'd to take up Arms against the King, and engag'd their Relations, Vassals, and Creatures in the Conspiracy. To favour their design'd Revolt, *John de Salslat* Arch-bishop of *Upsal*, of the Illustrious Family of *Bielke*, dispatch'd a Gentleman with secret Instructions to *Cbristiern* I. King of *Denmark*, to invite him to *Sweden*, in order to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of *Calmar*. And least that Prince shou'd be discourag'd by the seeming difficulty of the Attempt, he assur'd him that all the Bishops of the Kingdom wou'd second his Pretensions, and that they were ready to receive him as their Sovereign into all their Cities and Forts.

Cbristiern was then in *Norway*, whither he went upon a like Invitation from a Party that revolted against King *Canutson*: But notwithstanding the War in which he was engag'd in that Kingdom, he sent a powerful Army to support the Intended Rebellion of the *Swedish* Clergy. Assoon as Archbishop *Salslat* receiv'd advice of the *Danes* appearing on the Frontiers, he call'd a *General Assembly* of the Clergy, to be held at *Upsal*, where he excommunicated the King in a solemn Mass which he said on that occasion. After the Office was ended he laid his Ecclesiastical Ornaments and Habits upon the Altar, swearing that he wou'd never put 'em on again, till he had driven that Prince out of the Kingdom. Then he took a *Cuirass* and Sword, and went out of the Church in that warlike Equipage at the head of his Vassals to fight against his Sovereign. The rest of the Bishops follow'd his Example, and took up Arms for the preservation of their Privileges. They joyn'd openly with the *Danes*, and long'd to see their Country under the Dominion of Foreign Princes who during their necessary

1452. necessary absence, left the Clergy in possession of all the marks of Sovereignty, and even of a large share of the Royal Authority. They scrupl'd not to fight against the King at the Head of the *Danes*, and the whole Kingdom was distracted with a dreadful Complication of Civil and Foreign Wars.

Yet that Prince might have easily dispers'd the Clouds that seem'd to threaten him with inevitable Ruin, and might have triumph'd over the joint Forces of his Foreign and Domestic Enemies, if he cou'd have contented himself with the Regal Dignity and the Revenues that were annex'd to the Crown. But he began too soon to domineer over his new Subjects, and not only impos'd unusual Taxes upon the People, but invaded the Privileges of the Nobility, without reflecting on the fatal consequences of disobliging those to whom he ow'd his Crown and Authority. By these violent proceedings he lost several of his best Friends, and the most considerable Lords of the Kingdom. The Arch-Bishop, taking advantage of this Misunderstanding, routed the King's Army which was already weaken'd by the Desertion of the Nobility, and pursu'd him to *Stockholm* whither he retir'd after the Loss of the Battle. That unfortunate Prince perceiving that the Nobility had forsaken him, and that he had neither Forces nor provisions to undergo a Siege, was so afraid of falling into the Hands of his Enemies that he left the Kingdom, and retir'd to *Dantzick* with a Design to raise Forces in *Prussia* and *Germany*, and to appear once again in *Sweden* at the Head of an Army.

1457. In the mean Time the Arch-Bishop was receiv'd into *Stockholm*, where he caus'd *Christiern I.* to be proclaim'd King of *Sweden*. That Prince was still in *Norway*, but as soon as he had settl'd his Affairs there, he march'd immediately to *Sweden*, and was receiv'd as Sovereign of the Kingdom. The Arch-bishop flatter'd himself with the Expectation of Governing the Kingdom,

Revolutions in Sweden.

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1457.

Kingdom, and imagin'd that *Christiern* wou'd in imitation of his Predecessors content himself with the Title of King; but that Prince declar'd openly that he was resolv'd to keep the power in his own Hands, and did not think fit to gratify the Ambition of his Benefactor. The haughty Prelate finding himself so unexpectedly slighted, and (as he thought) ungratefully treated, express'd his Dissatisfaction in Terms that were not much different from a positive Menace. But *Christiern*, knowing him to be a person of a turbulent and daring Temper, was so far from complying with his Humor, or endeavouring to appease his Passion, that he order'd him to be apprehended, and sent him under a strong Guard to *Denmark*. *Catil* Bishop of *Lincoping*, the Arch-bishops Nephew, took up Arms immediately to revenge the Affront that was put upon his Uncle, and having in a little time rais'd a considerable Body of Soldiers, had the good fortune to obtain several Victories over the King's Army, who perceiving that he was not strong enough to keep the Field, in opposition to that Prelate, dispers'd his Forces into the Places that were in his Possession, and return'd to *Denmark* to Levy a sufficient Number of Men to recruit and augment his Army.

Bishop *Catil* remain'd Master of the Government during the War, which lasted almost seven Years. He offer'd several times to receive the King of *Denmark* into the Kingdom, if he wou'd set the Arch-bishop at liberty: But that Monarch was too proud to submit to a forc'd compliance, and scorn'd to owe the Reduction of *Sweden* to any but himself. *Canstson's* Friends perceiving that the Breach grew still wider, took the advantage of so favourable a Juncture, and prevail'd with *Catil* to consent to the King's Restoration. As soon as the Prince receiv'd the welcome News he return'd to *Sweden*, and remounted the Throne after he had liv'd seven Years in Exile; but

1462. but he saw himself quickly reduc'd to his former Condition. For this unexpected Revolution open'd the King of *Denmark's* Eyes, and convinc'd him of the Error he had committed in disobliging the Clergy: He endeavor'd to regain their Favor by setting the Arch-bishop at liberty, and that Prelate assur'd him that he wou'd raise a new Insurrection against King *Canutson*. *Christiern* was engag'd in a War with the Count of *Holstein* who had invaded *Futland*, so that he cou'd not at present spare any Soldiers: but he furnish'd the Arch-bishop with a considerable Sum to levy Forces in *Sweden*, and order'd a Company of his Guards to wait upon him, that he might enter the Kingdom with an honourable attendance.

The Arch-bishop was met and receiv'd on the Frontiers by Bishop *Catin* and all his Followers. He blam'd 'em for contributing to King *Canutson's* Restoration; and 'twas resolv'd by all that were present to Dethrone him a second time. The War broke forth again with more fury than ever: and not long after there was a bloody Battle fought on the Lake *Meler* which was then frozen, where the King was so entirely defeated that he had not Men enough left to secure his Retreat, so that he was forc'd to put himself into the Hands of his Enemies. The Arch-bishop made him renounce the Title of King, and afterwards confin'd him to a Castle in *Finland*, which he allow'd him for his Subsistence.

This Prelat was not so fond of King *Christiern* as before, nor so forward to acknowledge him as King of *Sweden*. His Imprisonment had given him a clearer view of the Policy and Temper of that Prince; and he had found by experience that 'tis sometimes dangerous for a Subject to put too great obligations on his Sovereign. He resolv'd to enjoy the Fruit of his Victory, and to share the Supream.

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Revolutions in Sweden.

29

Authority with the principal Lords of his Party. Thus *Sweden* had the Misfortune to be made the Scene of a confus'd and fatal *Anarchy*, and to groan under the Tyrannical Dominion of as many *Sovereigns* as there were *Lords* that cou'd raise any Forces, or were Masters of a Castle or Fort. Every private Quarrel was the occasion of a War, and the contending Parties made use of the Name of King *Canusson* or King *Chriſtiern*, to cover their rising up in Arms with a Pretence of Authority, tho' at the bottom they did not own the Right or Interest of either of those Princes. This Scene of Disorder lasted Four Years, during which Time the Kingdom was perpetually distracted with intestine Wars; and the people were so weary of a liberty that expos'd 'em to so many and such terrible Miseries that they demanded the Restauration of King *Canusson* with extraordinary Eagerness and Importunity, preferring an easy *Subjection* before a wild and troublesome *Freedom*.

1457.
1468.

Thus after so many Revolutions that Prince had the good Fortune to mount the Throne a third Time. He was solemnly invested with the Title and Quality of a King, and was put in possession of the Capital City; but the Bishops and Lords retain'd their Authority over the Provinces. He did not long survive this happy turn of his Fortune, and was so sensible at his Death of the Difficulties with which the Sovereign of an elective State must resolve to encounter, that he advis'd his Nephew *Steno Sturim* whom he appointed to succeed him, to content himself with the Quality of *Administrator* of *Sweden*, for fear of provoking the Jealousy of the Lords by assuming a more elevated Title. The Estates, after his Death, approv'd the choice he had made, and the advice he had given his Successor. The Bishops and the Nobility fearing that if he were invested with the Royal Dignity, he wou'd re-demand the Tributes, Revenues,

1470.

1470. Revenues, and Forts which they had seiz'd, confirm'd the Title of *Administrator*, and in that Quality intrusted him with the Command of the Army and the Government of the State.

The Dignity of *Administrator* was properly a Commission during the *Inter-Regnum* or Vacancy of the Throne, which might be revok'd and made void by the *Estates*. He was by his Office the *General* of the Kingdom, and had a more immediate Authority over the Soldiers and Officers, who took an Oath of Fidelity to him. The *Arch-Bishop* of *Upsal*, as *Chief Senator*, which was a Dignity annex'd to his Office, had the Precedency in publick Solemnities and on days of Ceremony; but in Time of War the Sovereign Power was lodg'd in the Person of the *Administrator*, and he enjoy'd all the Authority of a *King*, tho' he durst not assume the Title. The *Swedes* were so afraid of *absolute Power*, that they dreaded the very Name of a *King*, and imagin'd that they enjoy'd a greater Liberty under an *Administrator*, tho' his Authority was not Inferior to that of a *King*, and might be advanc'd as high as he had the Courage and Dexterity to raise it.

Christiern the First endeavour'd sometimes by *Treaties* and sometimes by *Force* to abolish that Dignity, and re-establish the *Union of Calmar*. The *Bishops* were still devoted to his Interest, and declar'd in his Favour as often as they cou'd discover their Inclinations without Danger. During the space of Four and Forty Years, that Monarch and King *John* the Second his Son, govern'd *Sweden* by Turns with the *Administrators Steno*, and *Suanto Sturius*: For it happen'd not unfrequently that the King of *Denmark* and the *Administrator* were at the same Time Masters of several Provinces according as the Faction of the *Bishops*, or the Party of the *Nobility* prevail'd. In the mean time neither of 'em cou'd make themselves Absolute in a Kingdom where the *Sovereigns* were often-

Revolutions of Sweden.

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oftentimes oblig'd to part with some Branch of their Prerogative, to purchase the Obedience of their Subjects. 1470.

Such was the State of Sweden, when it began to be made the Theatre of the most memorable Revolutions that ever happen'd in the North, which may be justly reckon'd the Foundation of the Swedish Monarchy, and of the Grandeur of that Family which at present possesses the Throne.

After the Death of *Suanto Sturius* the last Administrator of Sweden, the Factions and Parties, which by his Power and Policy he had broken and dispers'd, began to break forth with fresh Violence. He ow'd his Advancement to his own Merit, and to the need the Kingdom had of his Protection: For he was chosen administrator at a time when that Dignity seem'd to be instituted on purpose to oppose the Attempts of the Danes. His Victories over the Muscovites rais'd his Glory and Reputation, and made his Memory illustrious.

Charles XI.
King of
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rine de
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simir Count
of Palatine of
the Rhine.

His Power was almost equal to the Authority of the most Absolute Monarchs. He was fortunate in War, and respected in Peace. He oblig'd *John II.* King of Denmark, by the Terror of his Arms, to make a Truce with Sweden; and establish'd Peace and Plenty among his People. The Nobility and Peasants look'd upon him as the Protector of the Publick Liberty; and his Merit procur'd him the Friendship of some of the Bishops, whom he had perswaded to disengage themselves from the Danish Faction.

He never undertook any important Affair, without imparting his Designs to *James Ulfonis* Archbishop of Upsal, and *Heming Gadde* Bishop of Linköping: For tho' those Prelates were Enemies to his Dignity, they cou'd not forbear loving and esteeming his Person. He shew'd an extraordinary Respect to the Senate, and affected so little Superiority over the

1504.

1504. the *Noble-men*, that he seem'd only to excel 'em in *Merit*, tho' he was willing that People shou'd know that this was rather an Effect of his *Moderation*, than of *Weakness* and *Meanness of Spirit*. He kept always a considerable Body of *Standing Forces*, that his Enemies might never find an Opportunity to Surprize him, before he was prepar'd to receive 'em. His Court and Household were compos'd of the Officers of his Army; he maintain'd 'em with his own Revenues in time of Peace, and made 'em his Ministers and Favorites. These prudent Maxims which he observ'd in the Management of all his Affairs, made him the Terror of the *Danes*, and their Faction, who durst never engage in any Attempt against *Sweden*, during his Government.

After his Death, the Senate call'd a Meeting, or *Convention of the Estates* at *Arboga*, to proceed to the Choice of a Successor. The Bishops, led by the Consideration of their private Interest, endeavour'd to support the Claim of the Kings of *Denmark*, under whose Reign they had always the largest Share in the Government, and left no Means unattempted to revive the Union of *Calmar*. They represented to the Estates, that Plenty and a flourishing Trade, were the happy Effects of the Observance of that Treaty in *Norway*; that this was the only Way to change the present Truce with *Denmark* to a solid Peace, which cou'd not but be extremely Advantageous to *Sweden*; and that on the contrary, the Election of an *Administrator* wou'd make the Kingdom the Seat of a bloody and pernicious War, so long as there were any Kings in *Denmark* able to maintain the Justice of their Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*.

But these Arguments were not much regarded by the rest of the Assembly, who were convinc'd that these designing Prelates wou'd, for their own Interest, bring the Nation under a Yoak that was
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Grievous and Insupportable to all the other Estates of the Kingdom. The greatest part of the Deputies declar'd aloud, That they wou'd have an *Administrator*, and the Bishops were forc'd to comply with the prevailing Opinion. The Archbishop of *Upsal* was the first that gave his Vore, and declar'd in Favour of the Senator *Eric Trolle*, who was a prudent and deserving Person; and besides recommended by his Age, Birth, Riches, and Alliance to the late *Administrator*. The Archbishop, to prevent any Opposition that might be made against that Senator's Advancement, assur'd the Friends and Relations of the late *Administrator*, that 'twas only the Respect he had for the Memory of that Great Man, which made him name *Trolle* for his Successor; adding, That by this means *Suanto's* Son, who by reason of his Youth, cou'd not be suppos'd to be yet Master of so much Skill and Experience as was requir'd for the Discharge of so great a Trust, wou'd have an Excellent Opportunity to fit himself for the Management of Affairs, and to learn the Art of War under the Inspection of his Kinsman, who by reason of his old Age, cou'd not keep him long from the Possession of his Father's Dignity.

But this was only a specious Pretence to cover his hidden Designs. He had resum'd the old Maxims of the Clergy after the Death of *Suanto*, or rather began now to discover those Inclinations which he durst not own under the Reign of that wise and powerful Prince. *Eric Trolle* was his intimate Friend, and he was not ignorant of his secret Affection and Dependence on the King of *Denmark*, by reason of a considerable Estate which he had in that Kingdom. 'Tis true, that Lord was a very Wise and Judicious Person, but he had neither Courage nor Resolution,

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and both his Age and Inclination made him Incapable of engaging in a War with *Denmark*.

Besides the Archbishop concluded, That the Fear of losing his Estate in *Denmark*, and the sure Prospect of a considerable Recompence, wou'd have so great an Influence over him, that he wou'd be easily perswaded to accept of this Dignity by way of Trust, and afterwards make use of the Power it gave him, to make the King of *Denmark* Master of the Kingdom.

But all these Politic Contrivances were frustrated, by the unconquerable Aversion with which the *Swedes* were possess'd against all that were suspected to favour the *Danish* Interest. The Lay-Senators, the Nobility, the Deputies of the Provinces, and Consuls of *Stockholm*, agreed unanimously to exclude *Eric Trolle*, and at the same time declar'd for the young Prince *Steno*. The Bishops and their Faction persisted obstinately in the Choice of *Trolle*; and the Heat of the Two contending Parties began to occasion a terrible Disorder in the Assembly. But the Noble-men and Deputies maintain'd the Interest of Prince *Steno* with so much Zeal and Vigor, that the Bishops finding they cou'd not safely oppose his Advancement any longer, submitted to the plurality of Voices, and even seem'd to approve what they cou'd not prevent. Thus the young Prince was at last invested with a Dignity which he ow'd to the Merit and Memory of his Father

1513.

July 21.

Not long after the Dissaffected Party began to raise new Disturbances, and to dispute the Validity of the Election, pretending that it was carry'd on by indirect Methods, and that the Electors were either byass'd or over-aw'd. 'Tis hard to divine what might have been the Event of a Contest about so considerable a Prize as the *Supreme Power*: But 'tis probable

bable the Animosity of the two Contending Factions might at last have occasion'd a *Civil War*, especially in an *Elective Kingdom*, where People are generally so unwilling to acknowledge a Man for their *Sovereign*, whom they us'd to consider as their *Equal*; if the Difference had not been compos'd by the Mediation of the Common Friends of both Parties.

By the Articles of this Agreement, the young *Administrator* was oblig'd to consent, that the Archbishop shou'd resign his Benefice and Dignity to *Eric Trolle's* Son. 'Twas hop'd that the Son's Advancements wou'd soften the *Father's* Anger, and make him bear his Disappointment with less Impatience: And this was reckon'd the surest Expedient to establish a good Understanding betwixt the two Families, and to preserve the Peace of the Nation.

But notwithstanding all these pretended Advantages, the Promotion of young *Trolle* was oppos'd by the greatest part of the Nobility and Gentry, who look'd upon his Agreement as a Condescension beneath their Courage, and injurious to the Reputation of their Party. They assur'd the *Administrator*, that they were able to maintain his Right with their Swords in the Field, against the Bishops and the *Danish Faction*: And some of 'em who penetrated deeper into the Intrigues of State, and were better acquainted with the Art of Government, told him in private, That the Fate of his Predecessors should deter him from conferring the principal Dignity of the Church upon a Person that was already possess'd of the highest Advantages both of Birth and Fortune: That since the fatal *Treaty of Calmar*, the *Archbishops* had been the Authors and Fomenters of all the intestine Wars that had harass'd

1513. the Kingdom, under the Reign and Administration of his Predecessors : That young *Trolle* was reputed a turbulent and daring Person : That those who consider'd the Zeal with which the Clergy and *Danish* Faction solicited his Preferment, cou'd not but suspect his Fidelity to the present Government : And that 'twas absolutely inconsistent with the most obvious Rules of Prudence, to advance a Man that was in a manner oblig'd both by Interest and Natural Affection, to hate the Person who was the only Obstacle of the Grandeur of his Family.

These were the principal Arguments with which these Grave Politicians endeavour'd to convince the Administrator of the Dangerous Consequences of the propos'd Agreement : But in this, as well as in most other cases, it appear'd that the Force of *Reason* is not able to curb the unbridl'd Heat of *Youth*. The young Prince wanted Experience, and was unwilling to be govern'd by that of others : He was dazzl'd with the Splendor of his new Dignity, and cou'd not think himself secur'd in the Possession of his beloved Grandeur, so long as his Title was controverted by so powerful a Rival. His mind was so taken up with the Pleasures of a *present Enjoyment*, that he was not at leisure to think of *future Dangers* ; and perhaps he was so deluded by the seeming Generosity of the Action, that he was incapable of foreseeing the Hazard to which it expos'd him. But whatever were the Inducements that betray'd him into this Error, 'tis certain that the Archbishop resign'd with his Consent, and that *Trolle* was elected by the Chapter upon his Recommendation. He wrote to Pope *Leo X.* in his Favour, and remitted a considerable Sum of Money to the new Prelate, who was then at *Rome*, that

1514.

that he might be able to appear in an Equipage suitable to his Dignity, and to the Honor and Reputation of the Kingdom. 1514.

The old Archbishop sent a secret Message to his Successor, by one of his Confidants, with private Orders to pass by the Court of *Denmark*, with which the *Swedish* Clergy kept an uninterrupted Correspondence. The Election of the Administrator, and the Advancement of *Trolle* to the Archbishoprick of *Upsal*, were News of too great Importance to the King of *Denmark*, not to be imparted to him with all possible haste. King *John* had not long before left the Crown to his Son *Christiern II.* whose Temper was a sufficient Indication of his future Misfortunes. He was naturally Sowce, Fierce, and untractable; his Courage proceeded rather from an ungovernable Fury, than from a magnanimous Desire of Glory; and he seem'd only to make War, that he might feed his Eyes with the Bloody Horrors of Death. His Birth and the Choice of the *Danes*, had put him in Possession of two Crowns; but he cou'd not think himself Happy in a Kingdom, where the Sovereign Power was restrain'd by the Laws, and by the Authority of the Senate. On the contrary, he look'd upon *Sweden* as a Country, where by the Success of his Arms, and Right of Conquest, he might one day have the Pleasure to Rule with a boundless and unbridl'd Power.

He waited with an extream Impatience, till the Truce which his Father made with the late Administrator shou'd expire, that he might put his Designs against that Kingdom in Execution. The Advancement of *Trolle*, who was descended of a Family, and engag'd in a Party, that were always ready to promote the Interests of *Denmark*, help'd him

1515.

him to bear the mortifying News of the Election of a new *Administrator*: And he imagin'd, that by the Assistance of the *Swedish* Clergy, he might obtain an easie Victory over a Prince whose Authority was not yet firmly establish'd. He wrote with his own hand to that young Prelate, to congratulate his late Advancement, and sent him a considerable Sum of Money as a Token of his Friendship.

Trolle was consecrated at *Rome*, and receiv'd the *Pallium* from Pope *Leo X.* In his return to *Sweden*, he pass'd by *Lubeck*, which at that time was the principal and most potent City of all the *Hanse-Towns*, and had engross'd the whole Trade of the Northern Kingdoms. There he found a Gentleman whom King *Christiern* had sent to engage him in his Party. The *Danish* Minister, who was acquainted with his Master's most secret Designs, after he had deliver'd his Credentials, told the Archbishop in the King's Name, that His Majesty cou'd not forbear taking this occasion to repeat the Assurances of his Friendship, and that he hop'd to see the *Union of Calmar* reviv'd by his Assistance, and by the Interest and Power to which the Dignity of his Office gave him so just a Title.

Trolle was not ignorant of the Interest and Inclination of his Family; and both his Father and the old Archbishop had taken care to engage him in their Faction. He told the Gentleman that he was fully perswaded of the Justice of his Master's Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*; and pray'd him to assure that Prince, in his Name, that he was very sensible of the Obligations which the Consideration both of his Office and Family laid upon him, to promote the *Danish* Interest; and that as

soon

soon as he had taken Possession of his Archbishoprick, he wou'd endeavour to give His Majesty the most convincing Marks of his Zeal and Affection to his Service. 1515.

He had afterwards several private Conferences with King *Christiern's* Agent, during his abode at *Lubeck*. The *Dane* finding him to be of a haughty and imperious Temper, and extremely proud of his new Dignity, and of the Grandeur of his Family, resolv'd to attack him on the weak side, and to make him an *Enemy* to the *Administrator*, as well as a *Friend* to the *King of Denmark*. He insinuated with a great deal of Art, that he was oblig'd, in Justice to himself, and to the Honor of his Family, to resent the Affront that was put upon his Father; and added, That he cou'd never believe that a Person of his Merit wou'd tamely bear the Arrogancy of an Insolent Youth.

He represented to him afterwards, That the Election of an *Administrator* was a late Invention of the Nobility to elude the Treaty of *Calmar*. That by this means the Kings of *Denmark* were deprived of their undoubted Right to the Crown of *Sweden*; and the Prelates of that Kingdom excluded from the Share which those Princes allow'd 'em in the Government. Then finding that his Discourse had made a considerable Impression on the Archbishop's Mind, he added, as it were to comfort him after such Melancholic Reflexions, That in all probability the young *Administrator* wou'd not continue long in the Possession of his Dignity; That the King his Master was resolv'd to insist upon the Execution of the Treaty of *Calmar*; That his Claim wou'd be asserted by *Charles* and *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, whose Sister he had lately marry'd, by the Dukes of *Saxony* his Uncles, and the Marquess

1515. of *Brandenburg* his Brother-in-law; That he was at Peace with all the *Hanse-Towns*; That the City of *Lubeck*, which formerly pretended to preserve an Equality betwixt the *Northern Crowns*, was now in a Condition to assist *Sweden*; That the Republick was so weaken'd by the late War, in which it was engag'd for the space of ten Years against the King of *Denmark*, that the Regency were wholly taken up with contriving Expedients to re-establish their Trade, and wou'd think themselves oblig'd to *Christiern*, if he wou'd consent to confirm and maintain the Peace which they had obtain'd; That his Master was endeavouring to make a League with *France* and *England*; and that as soon as the Truce betwixt *Denmark* and *Sweden* expir'd, he wou'd enter the last of these Kingdoms at the Head of his Army, to maintain his Right, and establish his Authority. He added, That he had Orders to assure him in his Master's Name, That his Majesty wou'd entrust him with the Government during his Absence, and advance him to the same Post which the Archbishops of *Upsal* enjoy'd under the Reign of his Predecessors.

The haughty Prelate listen'd attentively to a Proposal that flatter'd his Ambition. He look'd upon the Kindness he had lately receiv'd from the *Administrator*, as a meer forc'd Condescension; and instead of loving and honouring him as his Benefactor, he began to hate and suspect him as a secret and implacable Enemy of his Family, and one who was oblig'd by Interest to humble and oppose him. He fancy'd that he might aspire to the Authority which that Prince enjoy'd, and even that he might obtain it, by devoting himself entirely to the King of *Denmark's* Service.

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Having consider'd all the advantageous Consequences of such a Revolution, he repeated his Protestations to the *Envoy*, that he wou'd imitate the most Zealous of his Predecessors in their inviolable Fidelity to the Crown of *Denmark*. But since he was not well acquainted with the present State of a Kingdom from which he had been so long absent, 'twas resolv'd and agreed upon betwixt 'em, that he shou'd spend some time in reviving and increasing the *Danish* Faction; and that the King shou'd from time to time send private Agents to take an account of the Strength and Condition of their Party, and to concert the surest and most convenient Measures to put their Designs in Execution.

The *Danish* Envoy having finish'd his Negotiation return'd to his Master; and the Arch-Bishop embark'd for *Sweden* with a full resolution to Plot the ruin of the Administrator.

Tho' that Prelate was educated at *Rome*, he had made but a slender progress in the Arts of *Subtily* and *Disimulation*, that are so industriously taught at that Court. He was naturally of a stiff and violent Temper, more Learned than Politic, proud of the Riches and Power of his Family and absolutely govern'd by his Humor. He was extremely imperious and haughty, and even incapable of Complaisance: he hated his *Superiours*, cou'd not endure his *Equals*, and slighted his *Inferiours*, among whom he reckon'd all those who were not so rich as himself. He was so far from regulating his Behaviour to the Administrator according to the Maxims of *Policy*, that he did not so much as observe the common Rules of *décency*. He industriously avoided that Prince, who in an obliging manner came out of

1515. of his Palace to meet him ; and as soon as he came
 alhore, he went by land to *Upsal*, without sending
 any compliment to the Administrator, as if he had
 forgot both his Dignity and Kindness.

He spent the first days after his Arrival in recei-
 ving the Compliments of his Suffragans, and the Ho-
 mage of his Clergy. His Relations and Friends,
 and the chief Persons of the *Danish* Faction went to
 visit him, some to congratulate his advancement,
 and others to discover his humor, and observe his
 Behaviour to the Administrator. In the mean time
 there was nothing to be seen at *Upsal* but Feasting
 and Rejoicing, which lasted above a Month ; for
 that young Prelate affected so extraordinary a Mag-
 nificence, and his Friends and the Creatures of his
 Family were so numerous, that he was attended
 with a Court which in some measure obscur'd that
 of his Sovereign.


But they were not so wholly intent upon their
 pleasure, as to forget Politicks and Affairs of State.
 'Twas during these Feasts and in the heat of an En-
 tertainment that the violent and impetuous Prelate
 began to discover his Disatisfaction. He com-
 plain'd to his Friends of the Injury which he pretend-
 ed was done to Father in the late Election ; and
 even cou'd not forbear saying publickly that *Steno*
 wou'd have had but few Voices if the Election had
 been free. Afterwards he discours'd in private with
 the Bishops to discover their Inclinations to the Go-
 vernment, and to know what confidence he might
 place in their Assistance, if he shou'd be engag'd in
 any Design against the Administrator. He insinua-
 ted, as it were by way of common discourse ; that
 'twas to be fear'd the end of the Truce with *Den-*
mark wou'd be the beginning of a bloody War ; that
 he was perswaded *Christiern* wou'd leave no Means

un-

unattempted to re-establish the Union of the Kingdoms upon the Foot of the Treaty of *Calmar*, notwithstanding the Election of an *Administrator*; that he pity'd the miserable condition of his Country, which, in all probability, wou'd be Sacrific'd to the ambition of these two Princes; that he knew not what side the Clergy ought to take, in case of an open Rupture; that 'twas true the Office of the *Administrator* seem'd to be instituted for the defence of the Nation and the Preservation of it's liberty; but that the Pretensions of the Kings of *Denmark* were founded on a just Claim; and besides that those Princes seem'd only to contend for the Title of Kings of *Sweden*, that they might entrust the Clergy with the whole care and Authority of the Government.

He added that Time and their Advice wou'd instruct him what measures he ought to observe with the King of *Denmark*: But as for Prince *Steno*, he declar'd that he was so fully convinc'd of the violent and indirect Methods that were us'd in his Election, that he did not think the Clergy oblig'd to defend and support the Dignity of the *Administrator* against the *Danes*, so long as that Prince was possessor of it.

The Arch-bishop's Discourse was receiv'd with an universal Applause by his Suffragans. They unanimously declar'd for the King of *Denmark*, and even some of the most violent of 'em were of Opinion, that they ought immediately to invite him to break the Truce, and surprize Prince *Steno*, whom they reckon'd an Usurper; and that at the same Time each Prelate shou'd oblige the Towns and Castles in their respective Jurisdictions to own the Justice of the *Danish* pretensions. Others thought it necessary to put all Things in a Readiness to favour

1515.  your the Invasion, and without losing Time to engage all their Friends and Vassals in the Design : and in the general all the Bishops endeavour'd to outvie each other in expressing their Complaisance to their Primate and an entire Resignation to his Conduct, which they were the more willing to promise, because the intended Invasion was yet but an uncertain project, and both the War and the Dangers that attend it seem'd to be at a Distance.

Afterwards the Arch-Bishop made it his Business to enquire into the Number and Strength of his Vassals. He sent a Body of Soldiers to take possession of the Fort of *Stegne*, which belong'd to the Arch-Bishoprick, and furnish'd it with Stores and Ammunition, as if the War had been already declar'd. He oblig'd his Friends and Relations to give him new Assurances of their Assistance, and by his Magnificence and Liberality engag'd a considerable Number of'em to remain with him.

The misunderstanding betwixt that Prelate and the *Administrator*, and the preparations that were made by his Creatures and the rest of the *Danish* Faction, gave Occasion to People to believe that the Kingdom wou'd quickly be made the Seat of a Civil War. *Upsal* became the general Rendezvous of all the *Malecontents*, and of those stragling *Adventurers*, who are always ready to offer their Service upon the first Appearance of a Faction, and are afterwards as apt to desert or betray their party, as they are variously acted by Fear or Interest. They were extremely well receiv'd by the Arch-Bishop, who heard with pleasure their Complaints against the Government, and seem'd to be touch'd with a Sence of their Grievances. He endeavour'd to express his Disaffection by his Discourse and all his Actions, that the disaffected Party

Party might be encourag'd to make their Addresſes to him: but he carefully avoid'd every Thing that might give the People Occaſion to ſuſpect his Cor- reſpondence with the *Danes*, who, he knew, were generally hated by the whole *Swediſh* Nation, except the Clergy. And therefore he took care to regulate his Behaviour in ſuch a Manner, that his Hatred and averſion againſt the *Adminiſtrator* might be thought to proceed from a private Quarrel betwixt the two Families, in which the Eſtate was not at all concern'd.

The *Adminiſtrator* was equally ſurpriz'd and incens'd at the News of theſe Tranſactions. He perceiv'd that the Arch-Biſhop was preparing for a Rupture, and was ſo enrag'd at that Prelate's Ingratitude, that being naturally of an impatient and fiery Temper, he wou'd have immediately march'd againſt him at the Head of his Army, if his Council had not moderated his Fury. They told him that *Princes* muſt not proceed in ſuch Caſes like *private Perſons*; that his Anger and Reſentment wou'd only ſerve to ſtrengthen the Arch-Biſhop's Party, and augment the Number of the Male-Contents; that he had to do with a People who were extremely Jealous of their Liberty, and always ready to oppoſe the Attempts of their Sovereigns: and therefore they advis'd him to conceal his Indignation, and to endeavour to gain that Prelate by gentle and obliging Methods.

Steno ſubmitted to their Opinion, and under pretext of taking a Journey to ſome Lands that belong'd to him, he paſs'd through *Upſal*, which lay directly in his Way, and is but ten *Swediſh* Leagues from *Stockholm*. He alighted at the Arch-Biſhop's Palace, and went to viſit him with all the Demonſtrations of Joy and an obliging Confidence that cou'd be expreſs'd by a Prince who had Reaſon to believe that his

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his Dignity and Kindness wou'd procure him a hearty Welcom. After he had congratulated his happy Return to the Kingdom, he told him that he was extreemly glad that he had had an occasion to contribute to his Advancement, and began to complain in a very kind and obliging Manner, that he had not yet appear'd at the Court. And in the general he omitted no Expressions of Kindness and Civility that might appease the Anger of that stubborn Prelate, and bring him back to a Sense of his Duty.

The Arch-Bishop who was both vex'd and surpriz'd at that Prince's Arrival, answer'd his Caresses with a Constraint and Disturbance that appear'd visibly in all his Actions. However he entertain'd him with extraordinary Magnificence; but that was meerly an Effect of his vanity, and design'd rather to display his Power and Riches, than to express his Joy and Gratitude for the Honor the *Administrator*, had done him. Nor cou'd he forbear in the Heat of their Discourse to reproach that Prince indirectly for using violent Methods, to obtain a Dignity which was only due to the Merits of his Father.

The *Administrator* who was loath to quarrel with a Man whom he purposely came to oblige, began to justify his Election; but that haughty Prelate wou'd not so much as condescend to hear his Reasons, and told him with a great deal of heat, that the Time wou'd come when a free *Convention of the Estates* wou'd do Justice to his Father, and to all those who were dissatisfied with the Government.

The Prince was equally surpriz'd at the Arch-Bishop's Threatnings, and incens'd at his Pride and Insolency. He retir'd with a Resolution to
imply

employ all his Power and Interest to humble him ; and least the Court of *Rome*, which usually takes hold of such Occasions to extend its Authority, under pretext of protecting the Clergy, shou'd interpose in this Affair, the Administrator wrote to the Pope to complain of the Insolence and ill Behaviour of that Prelate. 1515.

Not long after the Pope return'd an Answer full of kind and obliging Expressions. He blam'd *Trolle* for his Turbulency and ingratitude, and added that he had sent Orders to his *Legat* who was then at the Court of *Denmark*, to go immediately to *Sweden*, and in his Name to admonish the Arch-Bishop of his Duty.

But notwithstanding those specious pretences, the Instructions he gave to his *Legate* were intended rather for a Complement than a real Satisfaction: For tho' he seem'd to blame the Arch-Bishop, he cou'd not but rejoyce in his Heart that both he and the other Prelates of the Kingdom, whom the Court of *Rome* is wont always to look upon as her Subjects and Creatures, shou'd extend their Power, and assume a Share in the Government of the State. And besides the Popes had always bore a secret Aversion to the Kings, and Sovereigns of *Sweden*, since those Princes had discontinu'd the payment of the Tribute usually call'd *St. Peter's Pence*. 'Twas impos'd by King *Olaus* as a Tax upon all his Subjects, when the Christian Religion was first introduc'd into the Kingdom. But most of his Successors refus'd to submit to an Imposition, which was equally injurious both to the Prince and to the Subjects.

Several Popes had in Vain demanded that Tribute ; and even some of 'em had darted their usual Thunders of *Excommunication*, but without making

Ann. 940.
Bazius
Hist. Ec-
cles. Suet.
& Gotica.

Honorius
III. John
XXII. In-
nocent VI.
Gregory XI.

1515. ing the least impressi^{on} upon those Princes : So that the Court of Rome was at last oblig'd to give over its successle^s Attempts upon a People, whose Eyes were open'd rather by Policy than Learning, and who by an early and unanimous Resolution had shaken off the Fear of Ecclesiastical Censures. The Administrator was admonish'd by his Council, who were acquainted with the Inclinations and Politicks of the Court of Rome, not to rely upon the Pope's Assistance in so dangerous a Juncture : Nor did he place so much Confidence in the Apostolical Letters, but at the same Time he took more effectual Measures for the Defence and preservation of his Authority.

He summon'd a Meeting of the Estates at Tellia, under pretext that the Truce with Denmark was ready to expire ; but in effect to procure a new Confirmation of this Title and Authority, and at the same time to discover the Strength of the Archbishop's Party.

That Prelate, on the other hand, made it his Business to gain more Friends to the King of Denmark, and to raise new Enemies to the Administrator. He exacted fresh Assurances of Fidelity from those of his Party, and even engag'd the Governours of the Castles of Stockholm and Nicoping in the Danish Faction. Afterwards he sent a trusty Messenger to King Christiern, to give him an Account of the present Posture of Affairs, and of the Condition of his Party ; and to intreat him to advance immediately at the Head of his Army, without staying for the end of the Truce, which he might easily find several plausible Pretexts to violate. And besides he order'd his Agent to assure him, That the Governors of the Castles of Stockholm and Nicoping wou'd declare in his Favour, and receive his Forces into the Places under their Command.

Christiern

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Christiern, replied to these Solicitations, that it would not be sufficient to break the Truce, unless the Estates of *Denmark* would contribute to the War against *Sweden*; that he was endeavouring to engage the principal persons of the Kingdom in that Design; that he believ'd he had already gain'd the Legate that was going to *Sweden*; that if the Negotiation of that Prelate should not be attended with success, he would take care to start some difference betwixt the Two Nations, and push it on so far, that the Estates of *Denmark* should be oblig'd to take up Arms in the defence of their Country.

In the mean time the Estates of *Sweden* Assembled at *Tellia*, where the Administrator had appointed 'em to meet; and he had the pleasure to see that most of the Deputies were the same persons who had contributed most effectually to his Advancement. This encourag'd him to summon the Arch-Bishop to repair thither, in order to his qualifying himself for his Office, by taking the usual Oath of Fidelity to the Estates. But that Prelate not daring to appear in an Assembly, where his Enemy had so strong a party, shut himself up in the Fort of *Stegue*, which was a Castle seated on the top of a Hill, and equally fortifi'd by Art and Nature. The Arch-Bishop of *Upsal* had taken all imaginable care to render it Impregnable, according to the Rules that were observ'd in those days; and besides, it was sufficiently secur'd by the privileges of the Clergy which made it an inviolable Sanctuary. The Arch-Bishop call'd a meeting of the Bishops and others of his Faction, and the Assembly was held in that Castle, as if the Convention at *Tellia* had neither been free nor lawfully call'd. Thus both parties were making preparations for an open Rupture, when *John An-joah. Mag- gelo Arcemboldi*, Pope *Leo* the Tenth's Legate in the Northern Kingdoms arriv'd in *Sweden*, and offer'd

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his Mediation to negotiate an Agreement between the Arch-Bishop and the Administrator.

The Legate was of a smooth and pliant Temper, extremely Polite and Complaisant, and seem'd to make the getting of Money his principal Business, and the main Object of his Desires. He pretend'd, among his other Commissions, to be intrusted with a full power to grant Licenses for the eating of *Flesh* on *Fish-days*, to those who wou'd be at the charge of purchasing a dispensation. At the same time he distributed *Indulgences* to all those who wou'd contribute a certain sum for the Building of St. Peter's Church at *Rome*. These new Projects for draining the People of their Money were set on foot about that time, and carry'd a little too far by the Ministers of the Court of *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Leo X*. though perhaps without his knowledge.

Arcemboldi, scrap'd together those profitable Incomees, with all the greediness of a Soldier that is sent to levy Contributions. He had fleec'd a part of *Denmark* under the protection of his Bulls, and not satisfy'd with the considerable summs he had rais'd in that Kingdom, he put his Money out to Interest, or imploy'd it in Merchandizing, when he was preparing for his departure to *Sweden*.

King *Christiern*, was extremely dissatisfy'd with the Commission and Behaviour of that Legate, who under a Religious pretext drew all the Money out of his Dominions; but he durst not express his displeasure. He cou'd not hope to succeed in his design against *Sweden*, without the assistance of the Clergy, and he was afraid lest they wou'd become his Enemies, if he shou'd quarrel with the Court of *Rome*. Thus he was forc'd to purchase the favour of that Prelate at the rate of exposing his Kingdom as a prey to his Avarice. He over-loaded him with Caresses and Obligations during his Abode in *Denmark*, and at his departure he receiv'd his

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his last visit with the highest Demonstrations of kindnesses and Civility.

He pray'd him to imploy the Interest and Authority to which his Character entitl'd him for the Establishment of a firm and lasting Peace betwixt the Two Kingdoms. He assur'd him that he was ready to consent to any reasonable expedients for the carrying on of so good a design, provided the *Swedes* wou'd engage to put the Treaty of *Calmar* in execution. He added that neither the Civil Wars, nor the most successful Rebellions could be suppos'd to make void the Obligation of so solemn a Treaty; that the Clergy and all the honest party in the Kingdom look'd upon the Union that was agreed upon in that famous Assembly as the truest way to establish a solid and durable Peace betwixt the Two Nations; and that this was the only fault which the Administrator cou'd object against the Arch-Bishop. He pray'd the Legate to protect that Prelate from the unjust Rage of a rash and insolent Youth; and concluded that he hop'd he wou'd put some difference betwixt a Captain of Rebels, and a Sovereign, whose Family had been always devoted to the interest of the holy See.

The Legate was not ignorant that the Court of *Rome* was extreamly well pleas'd with the *Danes*, and very much dissatisfy'd with the *Swedes*; and besides he knew that King *Christiern* was allay'd to the House of *Austria*, for which the Pope had an extraordinary respect: but the most prevailing Motive that engag'd him in that Prince's service was the consideration of the Money he left in the Kingdom, and of that which he hop'd to get at his return, in some Provinces where he had not yet publish'd his *Indulgences*. He assur'd the King that he wou'd prosecute his designs with all imaginable Vigor and Zeal, and even insinuated to

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him that he had secret orders to favour his pretensions and protect his Creatures, adding, that under the seeming Character of a Mediator, he would promote his Interest, and serve him with as much Fidelity and Affection as he cou'd expect to find in his own Ministers.

The King of *Denmark* relying upon these Protestations discover'd his most secret designs, and talk'd to him with more freedom than a Prince ought to use with a Foreign Minister. He told him, that he was sure of the Castles of *Stockholm* and *Norwiche*, that all the Bishops were ready to receive him into the places that were under their Command, and that the Arch-Bishop of *Upsal* who manag'd the whole design wou'd come over to his Army as soon as he shou'd appear'd on the Frontiers of the Kingdom. He entreated the Legate to confer with that Prelate, if it were possible to keep any Correspondence with him without giving people occasion to suspect the design of their Conferences. He desir'd him also to concert with the Arch-Bishop the surest and most convenient Method to put their project in execution.

The Legate left *Denmark* with these Instructions, and as soon as he arriv'd at the Court of *Sweden* he publicly exhorted the Administrator and the Senante in the Pope's Name to conclude a firm and lasting Peace with *Denmark*. Some days after he demanded a private Audience of the Administrator, in which he intreated that Prince to grant the honour of his Friendship to the Arch-Bishop, and not to disturb that Prelate in the possession of a dignity which the Pope conferr'd upon him meerly at his Recommendation. *Steno* reply'd in few Words, and with a great deal of Courage and Resolution, that he wou'd always receive his Holiness's desires with Submission and Respect, and have an honourable regard for the

Person

Person of his Legate; but withal he told him, that he ought in the first place to offer his Advice and Admonitions to the Arch-Bishop, who, he assur'd him, might enjoy his Dignity without the least disturbance or molestation, if he wou'd return to a sense of his duty.

The Legate who only waited for an occasion to enter upon the Subject of his Negotiation, told the Prince that he had receiv'd order's from the Pope to offer and consult about the best expedients for bringing the difference betwixt him and the Arch-Bishop to an amicable agreement, and for establishing a firm and durable peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and that he perceiv'd that the latter could hardly be accomplish'd without the former. He pray'd him to except the mediation of the Holy See, he exhorted him to prefer a solid Peace before the uncertain change of War, which perhaps wou'd not be equally agreeable to all the Estates of the Kingdom, and wou'd make him odious even to the Nobility and Commons, if it shou'd happen to be prolong'd beyond their Expectation, or if they shou'd be disappointed of their hope of success.

This discourse and the care the Legate took to confound the Arch-Bishop's Affair with the King of *Denmark*'s pretensions, made the Administrator suspect the intentions of that Prelate, who he concluded was gain'd by his Enemies, and acquainted with all their Designs. He knew how much it was his interest to discover the bottom of their project; but 'twas not an easie Task for a young *Swedish* Prince to pump a secret out of an *Italian* Prelate, who had been train'd up in the Art of Disimulation in the Court of *Rome*. And therefore instead of endeavouring to unriddle the mystery by over-reaching that crafty Minister in an art of which he was an absolute Master, he resolv'd to

1515. attack him on the weak side ; and in pursuance of that design, he intreated him, by the advice of the Senate, to distribute his *Indulgences* in the Kingdom, assuring him that during that time he would take such measures as might be conducive to the publick good, and agreeable to the Inclinations of the holy Father.

This contrivance had all the success that could be desir'd : The Legate was extremely glad of so favourable an opportunity of continuing his gainful trade with so fair a prospect of Advantage, which was the only design of his Legation to the Northern Countries. He was afraid that if the Two Nations shou'd come to an open Rupture, 'twould be impossible for him to pursue his Commission in *Sweden*, and that the tumultuous confusion of War would deprive him of the profits of his Mission, for which 'twas thought he had advanc'd a considerable Summ to the Apostolical Chamber. And therefore as soon as he had obtain'd the consent of the Administrator and Senate, he publish'd his Bulls through the whole Kingdom, and his Officers took care to disperse 'em through all the Provinces. Those under-Collectors, or Licens'd Beggars whom he carry'd about with him, were certain persons who had farm'd the right of publishing his Bulls, and were oblig'd to purchase their Leases for a considerable summ of Money. 'Twas always his Custom to agree with the highest bidder, without regarding the qualifications of those mercenary Preachers, provided they could give him sufficient security for the payment of his Money.

The Administrator, either out of Policy or Devotion, seem'd very desirous of obtaining these *Indulgences*. He was very liberal on that occasion ; and in imitation of his example the Senators and all the Nobility laid out considerable summs

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of Money on these Commodities. The common people who are usually the best customers at such Markets, emptied their pockets to secure their Souls: every one was willing to contribute to the pious design, and even the wildest Debauchees seem'd to grow fond of the modish Devotion, which the Administrator had brought into fashion; and were easily perswaded to submit to a penance that tend-
ed only to mortifie their purses.

Arceboldi amass'd a prodigious Treasure in *Swe-*
den, and the Administrator suffer'd him to export
the Money in *Specie*, without paying any Customs
or Duties. This was a very considerable favour;
for all the Princes of *Germany* exacted a third part
of the profits of the *Indulgences* that were pub-
lish'd in their Dominions. And as a further mark
of his kindness, he sent several magnificent presents
to the Legate, and among the rest a considerable
quantity of rich Furs, and a very large Table of massy
Silver.

*Vit. Archi-
ep. Upsal
Joan. Mag-
ni.*

The Administrator imagining that he had ab-
solutely gain'd the Legate by so many obliging De-
monstrations of his Favour, and by the richness
of his presents, some time after took an occasion to
discourse with him in private. After he had com-
plain'd of the Arch-Bishop's ingratitude, he told
the Legate that he had receiv'd a full information
of that Prelate's pernicious designs, and that he
was resolv'd either to bring him to a sence of his
duty, or to make him leave the Kingdom. *Ar-
ceboldi* was so charm'd with that Prince's liberality
that he acknowledg'd the Justice of his resolution,
and even cou'd not forbear discovering the King
of *Denmarks* secret. He thought his Conscience
oblig'd him to bestow his favours, where he re-
ceiv'd the most bountiful returns, and perhaps was
afraid that the Administrator was already acquainted
with the instructions he had receiv'd from the

1515. King of *Denmark*, and would stop the Money he had rais'd in the Kingdom, if he shou'd still continue to conceal so dangerous a secret. Resolving then to make the best advantage of a discovery which perhaps he cou'd not prevent, he gave the Prince a full account of the King of *Denmark's* designs, of the correspondence he entertain'd with the *Swedish* Clergy, and of the infidelity of the Governours of the Castles of *Stockholm* and *Niceping*.

Yet for his own security he made the Administrator promise to carry on his design with so much prudence and caution, that the Arch-Bishop might not have the least occasion to suspect that he had betray'd King *Christiern's* Secret. At his Return to *Denmark*, he seem'd to be extreamly afflicted with the ill success of his Negotiation. He told the King that the Administrator was so exasperated against the Arch-Bishop, that there was no hope of a speedy Reconciliation; that in his opinion that Prelate was an obstacle to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of *Calmar*; that he kept himself constantly shut up in the Castle of *Steque*, from whence he seem'd to threaten the Administrator with a Civil War; that he did not think it convenient to go thither, lest *Steno* shou'd have suspected his design; that the Administrator was possess'd with an extraordinary Aversion against the person of that Prelate; and that he had Reason to believe that though 'twere possible to prevail with the Prince to resign his dignity, he wou'd never be perswaded to consent to that proposal, while he thought it might prove advantageous to his Enemy.

The King of *Denmark* perceiving the ill success of the Legate's Negotiation, concluded that he cou'd never make himself Master of *Sweden* but at the head of a powerful Army. He consider'd also that

that the Truce was not yet expir'd, and that he cou'd not begin the War without the consent and approbation of the Estates of *Denmark*: and therefore he gave private orders to his Admiral to affront the first *Swedish* Ships he shou'd meet with, not doubting but that the Administrator wou'd endeavour to revenge such an indignity, by way of Reprizal or Retaliation, either by Land or Sea, which wou'd oblige the Estates and Senate of *Denmark* to declare War against *Sweden*.

In the mean time the Administrator took all possible care to frustrate the designs of his Enemies; and resolv'd to make the best improvement of the Legate's discovery without betraying his secret. He inform'd the Senate that several persons in the Kingdom were engag'd in a Conspiracy against the State, and that the Governours of *Stockholm* and *Nicoping* had betray'd their Trust, and were ready to receive the Enemies into the places which they commanded. The Senate was alarm'd at the News of so black a design, and pray'd him to secure the Traytors. He pretended to take a review of the Garison of *Nicoping*, and as soon as the Governour and Soldiers came out of the Fort he order'd a new Garrison to take possession of the place, under the Command of a Governour who was absolutely devoted to his Interest. At the same time he gave orders to arrest the Governour of the Castle of *Stockholm*, who attended at Court according to his usual Custom. Then he call'd a meeting of the Estates at *Westeras*, the Capital City of *Westmannia*, where those two Governours were accus'd of contriving and abetting a Treasonable design against their Countrey, and Commissioners were appointed to Try 'em. The fear of punishment and the hope of a pardon made so strong an impression upon 'em, that they confess'd their design to deliver up these places

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1516.

1516. places to the King of *Denmark*, and accus'd the Arch-Bishop as the Author and Fomenter of the Conspiracy.

The Administrator having this advantage over him, resolv'd to proceed against him with the utmost Rigour; and in order to his Conviction order'd him to be summon'd to give an account of his Behaviour to the Estates. Some of the Senators who were sensible of the dangerous tendency of these divisions, and dreaded the fatal consequences of an open Rupture, endeavour'd under-hand to persuade the Arch-Bishop to submit to the Administrator, and even offer'd him a safe Conduct sign'd by the principal Members of the Estates, hoping to divert the threatening storm, and to gain that stubborn Prelate by easie and gentle methods.

The Arch-Bishop was enrag'd to find that his designs were blasted by too early a discovery: he complain'd to his Friends of the King of *Denmark's* remissness and neglect, and immediately sent one of his Creatures to that Prince to acquaint him with the danger to which his party in *Sweden* was expos'd, and to hasten his March to that Kingdom. In the mean time to amuse the Senate, he desir'd that a new Convention of the Estates might be summon'd, under pretext that the greatest part of the Deputies that compos'd the Assembly at *Westeras* were either the Creatures or Relations of his declar'd Enemy.

The Estates were so incens'd at the Pride and Obstinacy of that rebellious Prelate, that they resolv'd to secure his person and bring him to a Tryal. They intreated the Administrator to invest the place where he resided; and at the same time orders were given out to apprehend his Father, and such of his Friends and Relations as were suspected to be privy to his designs against the Government, or might be suppos'd to be able and willing to take

up Arms in his Defence. And since they foresaw that these Proceedings would infallibly occasion a Rupture with the King of *Denmark*, the Administrator was desir'd to raise the Militia, and to put the Kingdom in such a posture, that it might not be in danger to be surpriz'd by its Enemies.

Thus the Breach betwixt the Arch-Bishop and the Estates, gave the Prince an occasion to revenge a private quarrel, under the plausible pretext of punishing a publick Enemy; and that he might not lose so favourable an opportunity, he gave Orders immediately for a general Rendezvous of all the Nobility and Militia of the Kingdom. His Friends and Relations repair'd to his Assistance at the head of their Forces, every one striving to signalize his Fidelity to his Country, and Affection to the Prince, in a War that was undertaken to maintain his Election, and defend the Liberty of the Nation.

Among all the Noblemen who assisted the Administrator on this occasion, there was none who expressed a more vigorous Zeal for his Interest than *Gustavus Ericson*, the Great Standard Bearer of the Crown: A young Lord about Six and Twenty Years of Age, descended from the ancient Kings of *Sweden*, and particularly from King *Cannison*, who was his great Uncle. He was the Son of *Eric Vasa*, Governour of *Finland*, and Cousin German to the Administrator, with whom he was educated. He had naturally a high and daring Spirit, his Soul was possess'd with an eager desire of Glory, and infinitely more sensible of the Manly Delights of Ambition, than of the softer Charms of Pleasure. The Administrator divided his Favour and Confidence betwixt him and his Father; but the old Age of that Senator, and a certain Timorousness that appear'd in all his Actions, made such an impression upon the Prince, that though he

1516. he did not esteem him less for these Disadvantages, he took more pleasure in *Gustavus*, who with an equal solidity of Judgment, was Master of more Courage and Strength of Mind, and never propos'd any Designs or Expedients, but what were suitable to the Bravery, and agreeable to the Inclinations of his young Master.

'Twas by his Advice that the Prince resolv'd to give Fire Arms to the *Peasants*, who till then, had only, or for the most part, made use of Bows and Arrows. The Administrator order'd a considerable number of Musquets to be bought at *Lubeck*, and put on Board a Ship, which set Sail immediately for *Stockholm*, but was taken by the *Danish* Admiral, as she came out of the Mouth of the *Trave*, which passes by *Lubeck*. This Act of Hostility serv'd for a Declaration and Signal of a Bloody War, which began betwixt the two Nations, notwithstanding the opposition made by the Estates of *Denmark*, who were desirous to continue the Truce.

The Administrator was not so discourag'd by this Loss, as to give over the design he had form'd against the Arch-Bishop. He put himself at the head of the Militia or Infantry, which was the most numerous Body in his Army, and gave the Command of the Horse to *Gustavus*. The Bishops of *Strigonez*, and *Lincoping* march'd before, under pretext of interposing their Interest and Mediation, to bring their Primate to a Sense of his Duty; but their real Design was to give him notice of the Strength and Condition of the Administrator's Forces. For though these Prelates were engag'd both by Interest and Inclination in the *Danish* Faction, as well as the Arch-Bishop, they were more Politick and Cunning, and took care to conceal their real Sentiments, the discovery of which cou'd neither be advantageous to their Party, nor safe for them.

themselves, at a time when the whole Nation was in Arms for the Administrator. At their arrival at *Stoque*, they intreated the Administrator to excuse 'em for not declaring against that Prince, according to their agreement at *Upsal*, assuring him that they only waited till the King of *Denmark* shou'd enter the Kingdom to support 'em. They advis'd him to reflect upon the Power and Strength of the Administrator, who in few days wou'd appear before the Walls of his Castle, at the head of a numerous Army; and concluded with telling him, that 'twou'd be an Action worthy his Prudence to divert the impending Storm, and amuse the young Prince with a seeming Submission, from which he might easily disengage himself, as soon as they should meet with a more favourable juncture to put their designs in Execution.

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The Arch-Bishop rejected the Advice of his politick Suffragans with Anger and Disdain, and chid 'em for their Weakness, which he branded with the names of *Treason* and *Cowardice*. He told 'em he had received Advice by an Envoy from *Denmark*, that *Christiern* was preparing to invade *Sweden* with all his Forces; that his Fleet was fitted out, and ready to make a Descent; that the Administrator was not in a Condition to oppose so potent an Enemy, that he hop'd in a little time to see the King of *Denmark* seated on the *Swedish* Throne, and that they had reason to fear that he wou'd be reveng'd on his *false Friends*, as well as on his *declar'd Enemies*. The Bishops finding that their Remonstrances serv'd only to exasperate their fierce and stubborn Primate, retir'd to give place the Administrator's Army, which at the same time appear'd before the Castle.

The Prince hop'd to carry the Place, before the *Danes* cou'd be able to make a Diversion, but he had scarce open'd the Trenches, when he was in-

form'd

1516. form'd that the Enemy had made a descent near *Stockholm*, and were destroying the Countrey with Fire and Sword. Upon this advice he divided his Army, and leaving the Infantry to guard the Lines, he march'd with the Cavalry towards the Enemy, accompanied with *Gustavus*, and follow'd by all the *Swedish* Youth, who long'd for an occasion to signalize their Courage under the Command and in the presence of their Prince.

August.

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The Administrator met the *Danes* near the Castle of *Wedel*; and *Gustavus* was the first who charg'd 'em at the head of a Squadron. The Action was very bloody, and the Victory was for some time disputed on both sides with all the obstinacy which is usually observ'd in those first Encounters, on the event of which the honour of the Nation and the success of the Campaign seems to depend. But at last the *Danish* Troops were defeated, and the greatest part of 'em cut to pieces: those who had the good fortune to escape made a disorderly Retreat to their Ships, and retir'd to *Denmark*.

The Prince ascrib'd all the glory of this important Action to *Gustavus*, who after he had attack'd the Enemies with a great deal of Vigour, ran in to the midst of 'em with his Sword in his hand, and pursu'd 'em to their Vessels, without giving 'em time to Rally. 'Twas upon this occasion that the Prince began to consider him as an *useful* person, whom before he had only lov'd as an *agreeable* Companion. He admir'd the surprizing Genius of that young Lord, his eager inclination to War, his Courage, Valour, and above all the extraordinary presence of Mind he had shewn in the first Essay of his Arms. He was the best Judge of such Qualities as these, and naturally inclin'd to prefer 'em before other Endowments: and consequently they made a stronger and more lasting impression upon his Mind.

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After so considerable a success, the Prince led back his Victorious Troops to the Siege of *Stoque*. The Arch-Bishop was extremely alarm'd at the News of the intire defeat and flight of the *Danes*, who abandon'd him to the mercy of his Enemies; for he imagin'd that the King of *Denmark* would have taken more effectual measures to support and relieve him. The Bishops, and the rest of his party were so over-aw'd by the Prince's power that they durst not declare against him and even those who were most suspected were either secur'd, or driven out of the places that were under their Command. In the mean time the Besiegers carry'd on their Works to the foot of the Wall: but though the Arch-Bishop was not able to make a longer resistance, the natural Pride and fierceness of his Temper, and his implacable aversion against the Administrator would not suffer him to condescend to a Treaty. He defended the Castle for some days with all the fury and obstinacy of a desperate Man, who resolves to bury himself under the ruins of the Walls that enclose him: but the Officers of the Garrisons were of another opinion, and fearing to be treated as Rebels if the place shou'd be storm'd, and they found in Arms against their Prince and Country, forc'd their haughty Governor to Capitulate.

He desir'd to treat with the Administrator in person, and offer'd to come to his Tent provided *Gustavus* shou'd be deliver'd as a Hostage. *Steno* consented to that proposal, and *Gustavus* enter'd the Castle at the same time that the Arch-Bishop came out of it in order to attend the Administrator. But he was so scar'd with a sence of his guilt, that he durst neither rely upon the Exchange, nor the Faith of a Treaty, which is reckon'd an inviolable security according to the Law of Nations. And therefore knowing how dear *Gustavus* was to the Prince,

that

1517. that he might at least have the pleasure to taste the cruel delights of Revenge, he left orders with the Officers of the Garrison, to cause that Lord to be hang'd on the Battlements of the Castle, if they shou'd receive advice that the Administrator treated him as a Prisoner.

When he came before the Prince he ask'd leave to Capitulate, with as much confidence as if he had been defending the place, for the service of his Country, against the publick Enemies of the Nation. But the Administrator, desiring that the obstinacy of that Prelate might be reputed a Crime against the State, and a downright Rebellion, refus'd to enter into a Treaty, and in the name and behalf of the Estates of *Sweden*, requir'd, that a Garrison might be put into the Castle. He told the Arch-Bishop that 'twas the Senate's business to give Judgment concerning his behaviour; and to regulate the conditions of the Treaty; adding that he wou'd not appear in the Senate till they had decided that affair; and that he wou'd neither be his *Friend* nor his *Judge*, since he refus'd to acknowledge his Authority.

The Arch-Bishop, who was still as haughty and insolent as ever, imagin'd that the Administrator, notwithstanding his seeming Resolution, referr'd the decision of their difference to the Senate, on purpose that some of the Members of that illustrious Body might offer their mediation in order to a friendly agreement. Upon this Consideration he surrender'd the Castle to the Prince, and having obtain'd a safe Conduct or Protection, took Journey to *Stockholm* accompany'd with a numerous Train of his Followers, and attended with as magnificent an Equipage, as if he had triumph'd over all his Enemies. He fancy'd that his interest with the King of *Denmark* wou'd strike such a Terror into his Judges, that they wou'd think themselves abundantly



abundantly satisfi'd by his pretending to be innocent; concluding that they wou'd look upon his Revolt, as a private quarrel betwixt him and the Administrator, occasion'd by the jealousy of the Government, and wou'd expect no other Satisfaction, than a bare acknowledgment of that Prince's Authority.

But he was quickly made sensible of his Error, and of the vanity of his Airy Hopes; for as soon as he arriv'd at *Stockholm*, they began to proceed against him with Vigour. The Senate finding that they might safely rely upon the assistance of the Administrator, who was still at the head of his Army, gave judgment against that Prelate; and the Bishops of *Lincoping*, *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, who were members of that Body, were oblig'd to submit to the plurality of Voices, and to subscribe his Condemnation, for fear of being suspected and prosecuted as Favourers and Abettors of his Rebellion. He was declar'd an Enemy to his Country, and was ordain'd by the Senate that he shou'd immediately resign his Title to the Arch-Bishoprick, that he shou'd retire to a Monastery to do Penitence for all the Disturbances his Ambition had rais'd in the Kingdom; that the Fort of *Steque* which had encourag'd the *Danes* to invade *Sweden*, and under the former Arch-Bishops had been always made a Sanctuary and Retiring-place for Rebels and disaffected Persons, shou'd be demolish'd, that publick Thanks shou'd be given to the Administrator, for his Diligence in stifling the Rebellion; and that the whole Kingdom shou'd unanimously concur to maintain the authority of that Prince, and the Decree of the Senate, in case the Pope through mis-information or prejudice, shou'd endeavour to restore the Arch-Bishop.

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This Decree was enter'd in the publick Registers sign'd by all the Senators, Spiritual and Temporal and in execution of these Orders, the Fort of *Steen* was demolish'd, and the Arch-Bishop forc'd to renounce his Dignity. He deliver'd his Resignation in full Senate, to be transmitted to the Pope; but at the same time, he sent one of his Creatures to *Rome* to complain of these violent Proceedings, and to beg the Protection of the Holy See.

The King of *Denmark* engag'd all his Friends at the Court of *Rome*, to employ their Interest to support and defend that Prelate, whose Abdication had blasted all his Designs, and ruin'd his Party in *Sweden*. He was rather irritated than discouraged at the defeat of his Forces, and made new Levies to invade *Sweden*, during the next Campaign; for the Estates of *Denmark* thought themselves oblig'd to revenge the loss they sustain'd at *Wedel*. He sent to *Muscovy* to sollicite the Czar to declare against the Administrator, and endeavour'd to prevail with the Pope, to joyn his Ecclesiastical Thunder to the Forces with which he design'd to attack the Prince.


His importunity and the Arch-Bishop's Complaints, made so great an impression upon the Pope that he order'd his Legate *Arcemboldi*, who was then in *Denmark*, to return immediately to *Sweden*, and require the Administrator to put the Arch-Bishop in possession of his Office and Dignity upon pain of Excommunication. The Legate, at his arrival in *Sweden*, employ'd all his Interest and Rhetorick to persuade that Prince to give the Pope Satisfaction. He represented to him in private, with an ingenuity and freedom that were not suitable to his Character, but seem'd to be the effects of their former Friendship, and a requital of the Administrator's Kindness, that the Anger and Dissatisfaction of the Court of *Rome*, were terrible to the greatest Monarchs



narchs; that he ought to dread and avoid the fatal Consequences of an Excommunication; that in such a Case, the People as well as the Clergy wou'd forsake him: that even his Friends and most devoted Creatures, wou'd hardly venture to incur the Censure and Indignation of the Church; that since both his Honour and Revenge was satisf'd by the Arch-Bishop's Resignation, he had a fair opportunity to lay an Obligation upon the Holy See, and that the Pope wou'd by that means be engag'd to be surety for that Prelate's good Behaviour.

The Administrator communicated the Pope's Message to the Senate, and acquainted 'em both with his Desires and Menaces. The Bishops of *Lincoping*, *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, who had been forc'd to sign the Arch-Bishop's Sentence, seconded the Legate's Proposal with a great deal of Vigour, but were unanimously oppos'd by the Lay-Senators, who were the most powerful and numerous part of the Assembly. They told the Administrator, that he ought not to be scar'd at the Thunders of the *Vatican*, since their Strength and Efficacy depended merely upon the Weakness and Credulity of those against whom they were pointed; that the Contrivances and Machinations of the Court of *Rome* were always cover'd with a Religious Disguise; that Scorn and Contempt was the best security against such Menaces; that the Pope was incens'd against 'em for denying his Tribute, and that the King of *Denmark*, in Conjunction with *Leo X.* solicited the Restauration of a Rebel, to his former Power and Dignity, that he might afterwards by his Assistance, make himself Master of the Kingdom.

Steno by their Advice, answer'd the Legate, that he cou'd not imagine what motives shou'd induce the Pope to undertake the defence of a Traytor, who was seiz'd in actual Rebellion against his Country, and deserv'd to be punish'd with Death,

1517.  for holding Intelligence with the Enemies of the Nation; that his Character and Dignity cou'd not be suppos'd to protect him from the just indignation of his injur'd Sovereign; that his Judges thought they had pronounc'd a very favourable Sentence against him, by condemning him only to perpetual Imprisonment; that his Brethren of the Clergy had sign'd his Condemnation, and that his Judgment cou'd not be revers'd without exposing the Kingdom to new and fatal Disorders.

The Experience he had formerly had of the Legate's temper, made him resolve to strengthen these Reasons with a more prevailing and demonstrative Argument; and therefore after he had softn'd him with several considerable Presents, he offer'd him the Arch-Bishoprick of *Upsal*, and engag'd to obtain a Decree of the Estates in his favour, empowering him to hold that Benefice, during his Life, without being oblig'd to reside in the Kingdom.

The Legate was so dazzl'd with the tempting prospect of filling his Coffers with the Revenue of so fat a Benefice, that he forgot his Commission, and thought he might plead a sufficient excuse for neglecting to execute the Orders he had receiv'd from the Pope. He embrac'd the alluring proposal with joy, and in Testimony of his Gratitude to his Benefactor, he approv'd all that he had done, and publicly blam'd the Arch-Bishop. He wrote to *Rome* against that Prelate, and assur'd the Pope, that he had justly drawn upon himself the Indignation of the Administrator and Estates of *Sweden*, by rebelling against his Country. At the same time he sollicit'd all his Friends to imploy their Interest with the Holy Father, to procure a Confirmation of the Sentence pronounc'd against that Prelate, and leave to appear a Candidate at the approaching Election. But the Pope reject'd his Request, and absolutely refus'd to grant the Permis-

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sion that was requir'd to qualifie him for that Dignity; either out of regard to the house of *Austria* and the King of *Denmark*, who declar'd in favour of the Arch-Bishop, or as a mark of his just resentment for the Offence he had given by his scandalous way of distributing Indulgences in the North.

Upon the Administrators refusal to restore the Arch-Bishop, the Pope discharg'd his Thunders against the whole Kingdom, and particularly against the Administrator and Senate, whom he Excommunicated. Besides he ordain'd 'em to rebuild the Fort of *Steque* at their own charge, and to pay a Hundred Thousand Ducats as a Fine to the Arch-Bishop. The Bull was directed to *Theodore* Arch-Bishop of *Lunden* in *Denmark*, and the Bishop of *Odensee* in *Fuenen*, who at King *Christiern's* solicitation were entrusted with the care of publishing it; and that Prince was desir'd to put it in execution and to treat the disobedient *Swedes* as Excommunicated persons and obstinate Schismatics.

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The suddenness of so terrible a blow surpriz'd all *Europe*, and the *Swedes* were extreamly offended at the last Article of the Bull which committed the execution of it to the King of *Denmark*. They said that it did not become the common Father of Christendom to side with either of the contending parties, much less to make use of his power which was altogether spiritual, to protect a Rebel and a Traitor, and to authorize a Prince, who endeavour'd to make himself Master of their Liberties and Fortunes. The Senate issu'd out a strict Order prohibiting all persons to give obedience to the Bull under severe penalties; and the Administrator took all possible care to put himself in a condition to oppose the *Danish* Army, without which he was not much afraid of all the Thunders of the *Vatican*.

The Legate perceiving that 'twou'd be scandalous to reside longer at the Court of a Prince whom

1518. his Master had Excommunicated;— was forc'd to leave *Sweden* and to relinquish his expectation of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Upsal*. At his return to *Denmark* he found King *Christiern* drawing his forces together in order to his expedition against *Sweden*. As soon as that Prince receiv'd the Pope's Bull, he enter'd into that Kingdom at the head of his Army, and immediately began to destroy the Country with Fire and Sword, to stun the *Swedes* with terrible apprehensions of his vengeance. But at the same time to give some colour of Justice and Religion to those Barbarities which he committed purely out of Revenge, he caus'd the Bull to be solemnly affix'd in all the places where he left the marks of his Fury, as if he had only come with a design to execute the Pope's orders.

May.

Some time after he sat down with all his Forces before *Stockholm*, hoping that the Terrour of his Arms, the Consternation of the Citizens, and especially the fear of Excommunication wou'd occasion some Tumult that might be improv'd to his advantage: But the Governour and Magistrates of the City took such effectual measures to keep the people in order, that there was not the least appearance of any disturbance. The Inhabitants were possess'd with so strong an aversion against the *Danes*, that they resolv'd to defend the Town to the last extremity; and the Burghers mingl'd with the Soldiers of the Garrison made frequent and furious Sallies. The Besiegers found every where an incredible resistance: every Foot of Ground which they gain'd cost 'em the Lives of a great number of their Men; and they were oftentimes beaten out of those posts in the day, which they had surpriz'd during the obscurity of the Night. The Garrison made a continual Fire which did a great deal of Execution; and besides the *Danes* suffer'd extreamly for want of necessary Provisions.

The

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The King was advis'd by his Officers to retire, before the *Swedes* came up; who were upon their march to relieve the Town: but he was so incens'd against the Burghers for their vigorous resistance, that he resolv'd obstinately to continue the Siege. In the mean time the Administrator was putting himself in a condition to march against the Enemy with all the Forces of the Kingdom. The whole Nation took the Alarm, and ran to arms with an incredible Ardor: every Man thought himself concern'd in the defence of the common cause, and all the Provinces of the Kingdom seem'd to be animated with a spirit of Revenge and Fury. Thus instead of an Army of Regulated Troops the Administrator saw himself at the head of a vast Body of Tumultuary Forces who without waiting for Orders took up Arms for the preservation of their Liberty. The whole Country was overspread with swarms of Peasants who came flocking to the general Rendezvous, some descending from the Mountains, and others running out of the Woods. Most of these savage Warriors were cloath'd with the Skins of Wild Beasts, and arm'd after a very odd and even ridiculous manner: but they were inspir'd with a certain undaunted Fury, that supply'd the place of bravery, and made 'em resolve to spend the last drop of their Blood in the defence of their Country.

The Administrator having assembl'd all his Forces, march'd straight towards the King of *Denmark*, who fearing to be inclos'd betwixt the *Swedish* Army and the City, rais'd the Siege, and retir'd to his Ships. But the *Swedes* taking advantage of the motion his Troops were obliged to make in order to their Retreat, charg'd 'em so vigorously, that the Rear of the *Danish* Army was almost entirely defeated. They fled to the shore with so much

1658. precipitation and disorder, that the greatest part of 'em were cut to pieces; and many of those who escap'd the Fury of the pursuers were drown'd in attempting to swim to their Vessels. The *Swedes* made themselves masters of all the Baggage, and took above Three hundred Prisoners, who for the most part were Officers and Persons of Note that halied to sustain the shock of the Enemy while the Soldiers were imbarcking, and with the loss of their liberty, preserved the King himself and the greatest part of his Army.

But this was not the only Misfortune which attended that disastrous Expedition; for the *Danes* were detain'd above three Months in the Road of *Stockholm* by contrary Winds, and at last were so straiten'd for want of Provisions that they were forc'd. to make frequent Descents to supply their necessities. But they were perpetually repuls'd by the *Swedish* Cavalry, under the command of the brave *Gustavus*, who was always in motion, and oblig'd 'em to retire with precipitation to their Ships. His Courage and Vigilancy produc'd so good an effect, that the *Danish* Fleet was reduc'd to the utmost extremity: they had neither Water nor Victuals, and there was a great mortality among the Soldiers. The King himself was in danger of perishing, either for want of Provisions, or by the contagious distempers that began to break forth in his Army.

To deliver himself out of so miserable a condition, he sent a Messenger to the Administrator, with orders to propose a Truce for some days under pretext of treating about the Ransom of the Soldiers. After the Envoy had deliver'd his message, he insinuated dexterously that 'twould not be impossible to change the Truce to an eternal peace betwixt the two Nations. The Administrator was not ignorant of the extremity to which *Christiern*

was

was reduc'd, and knew that he might easily compleat his Victory by starving his Enemy: but either out of generosity, or in hopes of procuring a solid peace, which wou'd have secur'd him in the possession of his dignity, he consented immediately to the Truce, and sent several Boats laden with Provisions for the use of the King, and all his Navy.

Christiern perceiving that the Administrator was extreamly desirous of a Peace, imagin'd that this might furnish him with an Opportunity to make himself Master of his Person. He pretended to be overcome by that Prince's Generosity, and acknowledged himself extreamly oblig'd to him for the seasonable Relief he had sent him. Some time after, he propos'd an interview on Board the Fleet, whether he invited the Administrator, in order to treat about a Peace; and for the security of his Person, he sent several of the most considerable Persons in his Army to the Court at *Stockholm*.

The Prince, who was naturally of a very free and candid temper, was easily perswaded to give him that satisfaction, but the Senate oppos'd his Resolution, either because they suspected that there was some treacherous Design hidden under so plausible a pretext, or were resolv'd to maintain the Honour of the State in the Person of the Administrator. In compliance with their desire, *Steno* sent back the Hostages with fresh supplies of Provisions, and a Message to the King of *Denmark*, by which he acquainted him that he wou'd have willingly consented to the interview on Board the Fleet, but that the Senate thought it more convenient, that the Treaty shou'd be manag'd by Commissioners from both sides in some place on the Frontiers, that shou'd be mutually agreed upon.

Chri-

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Christiern perceiving that the Administrator had escap'd the Snare that was laid for him, resolv'd upon another project to facilitate the Execution of his Designs. He dreaded the valour of *Gustavus*, and the authority of his Family in the Kingdom; and besides, he had a particular spite against him, for his Affection and Fidelity to the Administrator. He projected a Contrivance, to make himself Master of his Person, and of five or six other Lords in the *Swedish* Army, imagining, that by threatening to put these Officers to death, he might oblige the Administrator to consent to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of *Calmar*, or at least, hoping to create a difference betwixt the Prince, and the most considerable Families in the Kingdom, if he should refuse upon any Terms, to save the Lives of *Gustavus* and his Companions.

In pursuance of this design, he propos'd an interview in the City of *Stockholm*, offering to repair thither with some of his Council, provided *Gustavus* and six other Lords whom he should name, should be deliver'd as Hostages for the security of his Person. And to make both the Prince and Senate sensible that 'twas their Interest to comply with this expedient; he represented to the Administrator, that they might come to a more speedy agreement by conferring together, than by employing Plenipotentiaries, who usually consume a great deal of time in debating about the Preliminaries of a Treaty.

Lawrence Sigonis. O-lain Ryning, Bennet Nicolai, George Sigones, Hemming Gadde.

Thus the Senate was oblig'd to consent to a Proposal, which they cou'd not reject with any shadow of Reason. As soon as *Gustavus* and the other Hostages appear'd on the Shore, the *Danish* Admiral, follow'd by a considerable number of Officers advanc'd to salute 'em; and at the same time they were

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were surrounded by several Soldiers, disguis'd like Mariners, who had come ashore during the Truce, under pretext of buying Strong-waters, and other Provisions.

Then the Admiral desir'd 'em to go in his Boat to salute the King, who was coming to see the Administrator. *Gustavus* wou'd have willingly declin'd the Complement, and waited till the King was landed, but he saw so many *Danes* about him, that he chose rather to comply with a seeming Chearfulness, than to make an useless Resistance.

Thus he and his Companions went on Board, and were immediately carry'd before the King, who commanded 'em to be arrested and disarm'd, contrary to his own Promise, and to the Law of Nations. Afterwards he sent word to the Administrator, that he wou'd order 'em to be Beheaded as Rebels and Excommunicated Persons, if he would not immediately consent to restore the Arch-Bishop, and Re-establish the Treaty of *Calmar*. *Steno* was so incens'd at so base a piece of Treachery, that he mann'd immediately all the Boats and Ships in the Harbour. The Noblemen who were then in the City, and especially the Friends and Relations of the Prisoners, leaped into the first Boats they cou'd meet with. The Prince himself went on Board a Frigate, which he found ready fitted, and set Sail with his little Fleet, resolving with these Boats to attack the *Danish* Men of War, and either to release the Hostages, or perish in the Attempt: But he cou'd not find his Enemies, who had taken the advantage of a favourable Gale that began to blow some hours before, and set Sail for *Denmark*.

David Chytrius, lib.
7. p. 200.
Leccen. l. 5.
p. 196. E.
dit. Upsalien. *Jo-*
ann. Magni, l. 23.
p. 780. *O-*
lam Magni, lib.
16. p. 289.
Edit. Lug-
dun.

King

1518

King *Christiern* left no means unattempted to corrupt the Fidelity of *Gustavus* and his Companions: but they resisted with equal steddiness and courage all his Promises and Threats, and cou'd neither be scar'd nor flatter'd into a Compliance with his desires. Their Resolution and Constancy had almost cost 'em their Lives; for the King finding that he cou'd not gain 'em, and dreading the Courage and Indignation of *Gustavus*, if he shou'd be oblig'd to release him, gave secret orders to put 'em to death. But the Danish Officer whom he entrusted with that Commission, abhorring so barbarous an Action, and fearing perhaps the Law of Retaliation; if by the chance of War, he shou'd fall into the Hands of the *Swedes*, took the liberty to tell his Master, that the Death of these Lords wou'd be prejudicial to his Interest, whereas by detaining 'em Prisoners, he might keep their Relations in awe. These Considerations made so great an impression upon the King, that he contented himself with imprisoning 'em in the Castle of *Copenhagen*, where they were so cruelly treated by his Order, that some of 'em ended their Days in that miserable Condition.

Eric Banner, a Danish Lord, pitying the hard fate of *Gustavus*, who was his Kinsman, begg'd him of the King, upon his parole of Honour, and that he might the more easily obtain a Suit of that Nature, from that jealous and diffident Prince; he assur'd him, that the only reason that made him wish to have that young Lord in his House, was, that he might have an opportunity to gain so considerable a Friend to his Majesty. That Consideration prevail'd with *Christiern*, to grant his Request; but on Condition that he shou'd carry his Prisoner to the Castle of *Calo* in *Jutland*, of which he was Governour, and shou'd pay 6000 Crowns of Gold for

for his Ransom, if he shou'd suffer him to escape, or could not produce him upon Demand. 1718.

The Generous *Banner* thought no Conditions too hard to save the Life of his Kinsman, which he believ'd, was not secure in the Castle of *Copenhagen*. He carry'd him to *Calo*, and endeavour'd by a kind and civil Entertainment, to make him forget the Misery he had suffer'd at *Copenhagen*. The good Mien, Majestick Air, and Graceful Behaviour of that Prince, produc'd their usual effect upon the Mind of his friendly Jaylor, who after some time, allow'd him the liberty of walking abroad, and suffer'd him to take the diversion of Hunting. New Recreations were propos'd to him every day, and it seem'd to be the main Business of the Family, to please him: But all the Pleasures he enjoy'd in so obliging a Society, cou'd neither make him forget that he was a Prisoner, nor give him the least satisfaction while his Confinement depriv'd him of a share in the Hazard and Glory of the War. His eager desire to serve the Administrator in the Defence of his Countrey; and at the same time to execute his just Vengeance on the perfidious Author of his Captivity, made him so uneasie, that the most study'd Delights serv'd only to encrease his Melancholy.

On the other Hand, King *Christiern's* Thoughts were so deeply fix'd on the Conquest of *Sweden*, and his Mind was so agitated with the tumultuous Motions of a disappointed Ambition, that his Spite against the Administrator was exasperated by the ill success of the Siege of *Stockholm*. He cou'd not forgive that Prince, for obliging him to make so disorderly and ignominious a Retreat, and cutting off part of his Army. He was both vexed and ashamed

1618. sham'd, that he had publickly violated his Faith, and the Law of Nations, to no purpose, by detaining *Gustavus* and the rest of the Hostages; but nothing afflicted him more sensibly than the daily decrease of his Party in *Sweden*. His Mind became a dismal Scene of Spite, Rage, and Shame, and in the heat of his Fury, he resolv'd to make a last effort the next Campaign, to repair all his Losses by the ruine of his Enemy, hoping that the success of his Arms wou'd in some measure justify him for proceeding against the *Swedes* as rebellious Subjects and excommunicated Wretches, without allowing 'em the Treatment which is usually granted to common Enemies.

He stood equally in need of Men and Money to carry on his Designs; and to supply the last of these Deficiencies, he gave Orders to his Officers to seize the Legate *Arcemboldi's* Treasures, under pretext that he had laid out the Money he had rais'd by the Sale of Indulgences, on contraband Goods. But his Guilt really consisted in a Million of Florins, which he was going to carry out of the Northern Kingdoms, and in holding Intelligence with the Administrator. The King had heard of the ill Offices he did to the Arch-Bishop, and was not ignorant that he had oblig'd all his Friends to make use of their Interest with the Pope, to obtain the Arch-Bishoprick of *Upsal*. And from thence he concluded that the Dignity to which he aspir'd with the Administrator's consent, was the reward of his betraying the Secret, with which he had entrusted him to that Prince, and that his Infidelity had ruin'd the *Danish* Faction in *Sweden*. The Prospect of so profitable a Revenge, was in his Opinion a sufficient Ground to excuse an open violation of the Law of Nations. He caus'd the Legate to be

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secur'd with all his Effects, and that he might not be oblig'd to restore the Treasure he had seiz'd, or submit to an Examination of the Priviledges, to which the Function and Character of that Prelate entitl'd him; he gave secret Orders to suffer him to steal out of the Kingdom, after he had been kept for some time in perpetual Fear of Death, that he might take hold of the first Opportunity to make his Escape. By this usage of the Legate, it appear'd that the seeming Zeal of that Prince, in executing the Orders of the Holy See, was only a Politick Contrivance to carry on his Ambitious Designs, which he endeavour'd always to cover with a pretext of Religion.

He employ'd the Legate's Money in making new Levies, and impos'd heavy and unusual Taxes upon his Subjects, without the Advice or Consent of the Estates. The Clergy and Nobility oppos'd these Innovations, and positively refus'd to contribute towards the raising of the Supplies, under pretext, that neither the Taxes, nor the Declaration of the War, were authoriz'd or approv'd either by the Senate or Estates. But their real design was to put a stop to his Ambition, and curb the Impetuosity of his Temper, for they were extreamly jealous of his Designs, and perhaps were no less afraid than the *Swedes*, of the Success of his Arms.

In the mean time, he squeez'd considerable sums out of the common People, who are usually the first who feel the burthen of Taxes, and are seldom or never assisted by the Nobility and other Estates, who content themselves with securing themselves. He levy'd foreign Troops with the Money he had rais'd by these Impositions; he invited all the Soldiers of Fortune, and straggling

Adven-

1518. Adventurers that would enter into his Service, and even preferr'd 'em before the *Danes* in the Distribution of Offices and Places, that his Arms might be lodg'd in the hands of those who depended intirely upon him. At the same time he prevailed with *Francis I.* King of *France*, to assist him with 4000 Foot, under the Command of *Gaston de Brezé*, the Prince of *Foucarmount*, and the Baron of *Gondrin*. Thus in a little time, he had the Pleasure to see himself at the head of a numerous Army, which made him equally terrible to his Subjects and Enemies. He conferr'd the Title and Authority of General on *Orbo Crumpein*, who was esteem'd one of the greatest Captains in the North, and entrusted him with the management of his Designs, and the command of his Forces, not daring to leave *Copenhagen* at a time, when there were so many visible Signs of a general Dissatisfaction among the Senators, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom.

1519. *Orbo* led his Army to *Westgotbland*, where he made a terrible havock, to draw the Enemy to an Engagement. In the mean time the Administrator march'd at the head of his Army, follow'd by Ten Thousand Peasants of that Province, who came voluntarily to his Assistance. He encamp'd at the entry of the Forest of *Tyvede*, having order'd a great number of Trees to be cut down, to fortifie his Camp and Trenches. *Orbo* pretended to be somewhat daunted at the sight of the *Swedish* Forces, and retreated with a seeming Precipitation to the *Lake Veler*, which was at that time cover'd with Ice, upon which he encamp'd with his whole Army. *Steno* was so transported at the sight of a Flying Enemy, that he was not master of so much presence of Mind, as to restrain the impetuous Ardor of his Courage.

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He left his Infantry and the *Peasants* in the Wood, 1519. where they lay entrench'd, and march'd with his Cavalry after the *Danes*, whom he attack'd near *Bogesund*. His Valor and Example inspir'd all the Soldiers in his Army, with a Resolution to conquer or die. He charg'd at the Head of a Squadron compos'd of the principal Noblemen of the Kingdom; he drove back all that durst venture to stand the Shock of his Attack, and broke thro' their thickest Ranks with so brave a Fury, that he was just ready to taste the pleasure of so glorious a Victory, when one of his Legs was shot off by a Cannon-bullet. The *Swedes* were so disheartn'd at the sight of their General's Misfortune, that they began to shrink and give ground. The *Danish* General was too well acquainted with the Art of War, to neglect so fair an opportunity of snatching the Victory out of the Hands of a staggering and dismay'd Enemy: And therefore as soon as he perceiv'd their Disorder, he order'd his Cannon to be charg'd with Cartouches, and pointed at the *Swedish* Cavalry; and at the same time he brought up his Infantry, who made a continual Fire. The *Swedish* Cavalry having lost the Spirit that animated 'em maintain'd a running Fight for some time; but at last fearing to be surrounded, they fled with the utmost Precipitation and Confusion. During the general Disorder, the Administrator was carry'd off upon a Sledge by his Servants, and dy'd of his Wound near *Stregnez*, as they were bringing him to *Stockholm*. He was extremely valiant; but his undaunted Courage was not accompany'd with an equal Dexterity in the Management of Affairs: In a word, he was a better Soldier than a Statesman, and fitter to command a Party, than to govern a Kingdom.

1519. *Otho*, who knew as well how to improve as how to obtain a Victory, gave Orders to his Troops to march immediately against the *Swedish* Infantry, and the *Peasants* who guarded the Pass of *Tyvede*. He imagin'd that he cou'd easily force their Trenches, and commanded the *Danish* Foot to attack 'em; but the *Swedes* made so brave a Resistance, that their Enemies were oblig'd to retire with a considerable Loss.

The General, enrag'd at the Cowardice of his Men, order'd the *French* Infantry to renew the Attack, and at the same time went round the Trenches, to see whether he cou'd discover an easier Passage, or a Place that was not so strongly guarded. In the mean time the Prince of *Foucarmont* advanc'd at the Head of the *French*, and was the first Man who mounted the Rampart with his Sword in his hand; but immediately after he receiv'd so dangerous a Wound with an Arrow that he fell into the Ditch. The *French*, as if the Fall of their Commander had been design'd for a Signal, attack'd the *Swedes* with so obstinate a Fury, that they made themselves Masters of the Trenches, notwithstanding an incredible Resistance; and while they kept the Enemy in play, *Otho* open'd a Passage in another Place. Tho' the *Swedes* were extreamly weaken'd and fatigu'd by the Length of the Engagement, and surrounded on all Sides, they continu'd to make a very brave Defence: The *Peasants* animated with Despair and Rage ran into the thickest Battalions, neither expecting nor desiring to live, and even willing to die provided they cou'd revenge their Death by that of an Enemy. They were all cut to pieces, except some who made their Escape in the Night, and fled to the Woods, from whence they return'd by degrees to their respective Habitations.

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The *Danish* General, perceiving that there were 1519. no Forces left to oppose him, pass'd thro' the Forest of *Tyvede*, and penetrated into the Heart of the Kingdom. There were no regulated Troops, nor *Militia* on Foot, to make Head against the Enemy; the People generally fled to the remotest Provinces; the greatest part of the Senators shut themselves up in their Castles; the Administrator's Widow retir'd to the Citadel of *Stockholm*, with the two young Princes her Children; and the *Peasants* dreading the Fate of their Countrymen, took shelter in the Woods. There was no possibility of putting a Stop to the Career of the Publick Misfortunes, and retrieving the Honour of the Kingdom, but by proceeding to the Election of a new Administrator, who might have encourag'd and commanded the Nobility to make another, and more vigorous Effort, rally'd the *Malitia* and scatter'd Troops, and oppos'd *Christiern's* Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*.

The Clergy imploy'd all their Interest to prevent an Election, which they foresaw wou'd be extremely prejudicial to the Interest of that Prince. As soon as the Archbishop receiv'd Advice of the Administrator's Death, he left the Monastery whether he had retir'd, and resuming the Authority which he had solemnly resign'd in the Senate, he march'd straight to *Upsal*, and made that City declare for the King of *Denmark*. The Bishops of *Lincoping* and *Stregnez*, were always secret Abettors of the *Danish* Faction, but had declin'd siding openly with either Party, while the event of the War seem'd to be uncertain, took this occasion to discover their real Inclinations. They publickly own'd the Justice and Reasonableness of the King of *Denmark's* Claim, and visited all the Places in their respective Dioces, to hinder the Nobility from taking up Arms, flattering some with

1519. Hope of Reward, and terrifying others with the Fear of Punishment. They endeavour'd to persuade all sorts of Persons, that Sweden was not in a Condition to resist the Danes; that the late Administrator by disobeying the Head of the Church had provok'd the Indignation of Heav'n, and receiv'd the Just Reward of his Contumacy; that a new Election wou'd only serve to encrease the Guilt of the Nation, and expose it to utter Ruin, whereas 'twas in their Power to restore Plenty and Tranquillity by submitting to the Orders of the holy See, and concluding a solid Peace with Denmark.

*Eri Trolle,
Eric Abrahami,
Benedict Canut.*

By such subtle Insinuations they gain'd three Senators and several Lords, whose Lands were most expos'd to the Fury of the Enemy. And under pretext of securing the Quiet and Safety of their Country, they persuaded these Lords to send Deputies to General *Crumpein*, to desire a Truce in the Name of the whole Nation, and to assure him, that in the mean time they wou'd take such Resolutions, as might be equally profitable to both Kingdoms, and agreeable to the King his Master.

The cunning General wou'd not absolutely deny their Request, but he took care they shou'd not have time to reflect upon their Condition, and upon their true Interest. He granted only a Truce for Eleven Days, and during that Time he requir'd that a Meeting of the Estates shou'd be held at *Upsal*, where he wou'd appear to acquaint 'em with the Master's pretensions. The Archbishop who by his Office was the first Senator, call'd the Meeting; and the Clergy us'd all their Interest and Rhetoric to persuade the Nobility and Commons either to come in Person, or send Deputies to the Assembly; but the greatest Part of 'em refus'd positively to meet in a Place that had declar'd

declar'd for the Enemy. So that the whole Assembly consisteth only of the Bishops, the three Senators whom they had gain'd, and some Lords of *West Gothland*, who were scar'd into a Compliance by the Troops and Menaces of the *Danish* General. However the Archbishop open'd the Convention, which being intirely compos'd of his Friends and Creatures, was absolutely govern'd by him. In the mean time *Otho* repair'd to *Upsal* accompanied with the principal Officers of his Army, and requir'd the Estates to abolish the Dignity and Office of an Administrator, and to re-establish the Union of *Calmar*, in Favour of the King his Master. There was no need of using Arguments to perswade an Assembly that consisted of such Persons as were already engag'd in the *Danish* Faction, either by Fear or Inclination. They prevented the General's Demands, abolish'd the Dignity of an Administrator, and condemn'd the Memory of those Princes who had born that Title, as Rebels against their lawful Sovereigns. And they were even so zealous to out-do each other, in hastening the intire Ruin of their Country, that *Otho* was oblig'd to moderate their Ardor, lest it shou'd be suspected that they Treaty, which he concluded with the Estates was only sign'd by Traytors, or at least by Persons whose Consent was extorted by violent Methods.

He promis'd in the Name of the King his Master, that the Laws and Priviledges of the Kingdom shou'd be preserv'd and maintain'd; that all the Articles of the Treaty of *Calmar* shou'd be punctually observ'd; that the Prisoners, and particularly *Gustavus Ericson*, shou'd be deliver'd without Ransom; and that no Person shou'd be molested for engaging in any Party during the War, since the Death of the Administrator *Suanto*. Then the Archbishop conferr'd the Title of King

May.

1519. of Sweden upon *Christiern* in the name of the whole Assembly, as if his Sovereignty had been acknowledg'd by all the Estates of the Kingdom. He sent also Circular Letters into all the Provinces, intimating the Conditions of the Treaty he had concluded, and requiring all the People to submit to the Resolution of the Estates, upon Pain of being Prosecuted with the utmost Rigour for their Disobedience.

Afterwards *Otho* march'd with his Army into the remote Provinces of the Kingdom, to make the People acknowledg the Authority of his Master. He routed several Bodies of the *Peasants*, who cou'd not bear the sight of their Enemies, without putting themselves in a Posture of Defence. Their Natural Courage was animated by all the Motions of Fury and Revenge; but they were equally destitute of Leaders and Fortune. After the *Danish* General had dispers'd the Rabble, who fought with more Impetuosity than Order, he detach'd several Party's; who burnt the Villages, pursu'd the *Peasants* to the Woods, and destroy'd a prodigious Number of 'em.

The Archbishop, to terrify the rest with the Fear of a Punishment, which the Superstitious *Peasants* dreaded more than Death it self, prohibited the Clergy to grant Christian Burial to those who dy'd in Rebellion against the Prince, that was Authoriz'd by the Holy See. The *Danish* General destroy'd the Lands and Castles of those Lords who refus'd to acknowledg his Master; and at the same time entertain'd those who declar'd in his Favour, with all the Demonstrations of Kindness and Civility. The Lords and Gentlemen, weaken'd by their mutual Divisions, were at last constrain'd to yield their Necks to the *Danish* Yoke, and the whole Kingdom was forc'd to submit to it's new Master. The People ran to meet the
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Conqueror, and endeavour'd to make their Peace on the easiest Terms. The greatest part of the City sent Deputies to promise Obedience; only *Stockholm* and *Calmar* persisted in their Fidelity to the Administrator's Widow. *Orho* invested the first of these Cities and canton'd his Troops about it in such a manner, that 'twas impossible to relieve the Town by Land. Then he wrote to the King his Master, to acquaint him with the Success of the Campaign, and the Treaty that was concluded at *Upsal*.

The news of the Reduction of Sweden were extremely agreeable to the Court of *Denmark*: but while every one strove to express his Joy for so glorious and important a Success, the King who was most concern'd in it, cou'd not forbear discovering the Trouble and Uneasiness of his Mind. That Jealous and Apprehensive Prince was afraid, that *Orho* wou'd make use of his Name, and of an Army that was wholly compos'd of Foreigners, to make himself Master of the Kingdom: And even his Fears suggested to him, that the *Swedes*, who were naturally possessed with an implacable Aversion against the *Danes* wou'd endeavour to bribe that General's Fidelity by offering to acknowledge him as Administrator. However he dissembl'd his Suspicions, and sent him Letters full of Expressions of Gratitude for the important Services he had receiv'd from him; but at the same Time to keep him in awe, he acquainted him that he was resolv'd to march to *Sweden* next Spring at the Head of a numerous Army, and that he wou'd command the Siege of *Stockholm* in Person. Some time after he sent several Ships laden with Salt, which was very scarce and dear in *Sweden*, and order'd the General to cause it to be distributed *Gratis* among the principal Persons of every Village, that the Peasant might esteem

1519. themselves happy, in being subject to so kind a Master,

Gustavus was soon after alarm'd with the dismal news of the Ruin of his Country. He was extremely afflicted at the Administrator's Death, and concluded that the King of *Denmark* would take advantage of the general Consternation to make himself Master of the whole Kingdom. His Restraint became insupportable to him, tho' he was still entertain'd by *Banner* with all the obliging Tenderness he could expect or desire from a kind Relation. The Tranquillity of his thoughts was perpetually disturb'd with the most violent Transports of Revenge for the Death of *Steno*, and of a most passionate Love to his Country; and perhaps he had already began to form some ambitious Designs, which encreas'd the Agitation of his Mind. He was too well acquainted with the King of *Denmark's* Character to entertain the least Hope of procuring his Liberty from that Prince before the End of the War, tho' to gain the Nobility that was made an expresse Article of the Treaty of *Upsal*; and the natural Generosity of his Temper, would not suffer him to make any proposal to *Banner* that might seem inconsistent with his Duty to his Sovereign. And therefore he resolv'd to make his escape privately, concluding that 'twould be no injury to his Kinsman, if the Ransom appointed by the

Decemb. King were paid.

In order to the Execution of that Design, he went out of the Castle one Morning, under pretext of hunting in the Woods, according to his usual Custom. As soon as he came to a convenient Place, he disguis'd himself in a *Peasant's* Habit, and in that Equipage travell'd on Foot thro' by-ways, and in two Days arriv'd at *Flensburg*. Since no Man was suffer'd to go out of that City with-



without a Passport, *Gustavus* durst not appear at the Gate, or go before the Governor, for fear of being discover'd; but as if Fortune had design'd to favor his Escape, this happen'd to be the time of the Year, when the Merchants of lower *Saxony* come to *Jutland* to buy Oxen, with which they drive a considerable Trade. *Gustavus* offer'd his Service to one of these *German* Merchants, who hir'd him to drive his Oxen; by the help of which Disguise he escap'd out of the *Danish* Territories, and arriv'd safe at *Lubeck*.

As soon as *Banner* heard of his Prisoner's Flight, he pursu'd him with extraordinary Haste and Diligence, and overtook him at *Lubeck*. In the first Transports of his Anger he began to treat him as a Person, who by a base Action had expos'd his Friend and Benefactor to the Indignation of his Sovereign, and the Forfeiture of a considerable Summ of Money. *Gustavus*, knowing that these Reproaches were not altogether groundless, was so far from being offended at 'em, that he endeavour'd in the mildest and most obliging Terms to pacifie his Kinsman, and to convince him of the Innocency, and even Necessity of that Action which he blam'd. He begg'd him to consider coolly and impartially the Injustice of his Restraint, and the Injury that was done him against the public Faith, and the Law of Nations. He told him, that he himself was a Witness with what Patience and Submission he had born his Imprisonment, so long as he cou'd entertain the least Hope that the King of *Denmark* might at last be perswaded to do him Justice: and that no reasonable Person cou'd blame him for endeavouring to procure his Liberty, since even the Treaty of *Upsal* cou'd not oblige his implacable Enemy to release him. He added, that he wou'd never forget the obliging Treatment he had receiv'd at his House; and that he wou'd take

1519. take care to send him the Summ which the King requir'd for his Ransom.

Banner was so fully convinc'd by his Reasons, and satisfy'd with his Promise, that he went home and gave out that he cou'd not find his Prisoner. The King fearing that his old Enemy wou'd endeavour to form a Party against him in *Sweden*, sent Orders to General *Orbo* to make a diligent Search for him. But notwithstanding all the Dangers that threaten'd him, he persisted in his Resolution to return to *Sweden*, and to incite his Countrymen, to make a vigorous Effort to recover their Liberty. In pursuance of that Design he discover'd himself to *Nicholas Gems*, the first Consul of *Lubeck*, and endeavour'd by several Reasons to persuade that Magistrate to favor him with his Advice and Assistance. He intreated him to consider that 'twas the Interest of the Regency, to put a seasonable Stop to the boundless Ambition of King *Christiern*; that the Conquest of *Sweden* wou'd make that Prince Master of all the Trade of the *Baltic* Sea, and consequently ruin the Merchants of the *Hanse* Towns; and that the Inhabitants of *Lubeck* cou'd never reckon themselves secure, while the three Northern Crowns were united in the Person of one Sovereign. Afterwards he put him in mind of the Hatred which the *Danes* had on all occasions express'd against that City; and of the many and important Services which the Republic had receiv'd from *Sweden*. He added, that he was confident the Regency had not yet forgotten, that they ow'd their Liberty to *Eric Blesus*, King of *Sweden*, who deliver'd 'em from the Tyrannical Usurpation of *Waldemar II.* King of *Denmark*; and that their Merchants were oblig'd to the Trade and Protection of *Sweden*, for all the Riches they enjoy'd. And concluded, that he hop'd, that both Interest and Gratitude wou'd

would prevail with the Re-publick to assist their Ancient Allies in the just Defence of their Liberty and Priviledges.

The Consul was very sensible of the Reasonableness of *Gustavus's* Desire, and promis'd to propose it at the first Meeting of the Council: But the Regency, who were all Merchants, did not think fit to declare for a Party that had no standing Forces to support 'em, and were not in a Condition to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. These *Burghers* were only concern'd for the present Security of their Trade, and they were so afraid of incurring the Displeasure of the King of *Denmark*, who was Master of a potent Fleet, that they refus'd to grant *Gustavus* a Passage to *Stockholm*, where he was desirous to make his first Appearance. But it seems the Consul saw further, or was better acquainted with the Interests of the City, than the rest of the Council; or perhaps had private Orders to show more favor to that illustrious Adventurer, than the Regency were willing to own: For he told him in secret, that he would provide a Vessel that shou'd carry him to *Sweden*; and at his Departure assur'd him, that if he cou'd form a Party strong enough to take the Field, the Regency would infallibly declare for him.

Gustavus would have landed at *Stockholm*, but the Master of the Ship, either in Obedience to private Orders, or because he was bound to another Place, set him ashore near *Calmar*, which seem'd still to adhere to the Party and Interest of the Princess *Christina*, the Administrator's Widow; or rather was kept by the Governor, till the *Danes* shou'd offer some advantageous Proposal to make amends for the Loss of his Government.

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1519.

and to the principal Officers of the Garrison, who were for the most part *Germans*, and had serv'd under him in Prince *Steno's* Army; imagining that they wou'd have so much regard to his Birth and former Authority, as to intrust him with the Command of the Town. He exhorted 'em to signalize their Courage in so noble a Cause, and to preserve that Fidelity to the Princess, which they had promis'd to her deceas'd Husband: He told 'em that he had run thro' all Dangers, that he might have a share in the Glory of vigorous and honourable Defence; and assur'd 'em that they might confidently expect a speedy and seasonable Relief. But those mercenary Foreigners, seeing that he had neither Troops nor so much as Servants to attend him, look'd upon him as a lost Man, and were so far from submitting to his Authority, or engaging in his Party, that when he attempted to gain some Soldiers of the Garrison, they threaten'd so positively to kill him, or to deliver him up to King *Christiern*, that he was forc'd to prevent the Execution of their Menaces by a speedy Flight, and was even oblig'd to have recourse to his former Disguise, upon advice that the *Danes* who were advertis'd of his Arrival, had sent out several Parties to apprehend him. And fearing least so vigilant an Enemy might easily discover a young Lord in the Habit of a *Peasant*, he hid himself in a Waggon laden with Straw, and in that Equipage pass'd thro' all the Quarters of the *Danish* Army, to a Castle that belong'd to his Father in the Province of *Suedermania*.

From thence he wrote to his Friends, to acquaint 'em with his Escape and Return, desiring 'em to repair immediately to the Place where he lay with all their Vassals and Followers. For he hop'd

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hop'd that by their Assistance he might be able to force some Quarter of the *Danish* Army, and afterwards to march to the Relief of *Stockholm*. But they were so far from engaging in so hazardous a Design, that even his Relations refus'd to entertain any Correspondence with him. That passionate Love, or rather fondness of Liberty, which was always reckon'd the peculiar Character of the Nation, seem'd to be quite extinct, and the haughty and untractable *Swedes* became the tame Slaves of their most hatred Enemies. Every Man endeavour'd to avoid the least shadow of Suspicion, and contented himself with securing his private Interest, without regarding the Safety and Honor of his Country.

Gustavus disdaining the Cowardise of his Friends, resolv'd to have recourse to the *Peasants*, concluding that 'twou'd be an easier Task to inflame the natural Fierceness of the Rabble, who cou'd neither be engag'd by Fear nor Hope in the *Danish* Faction. He went about the neighboring Villages in the Night, endeavouring to gain the principal Persons, and at last ventur'd to appear in Public on Festival-days, to incite the Mobile to take up Arms against their Oppressors. But he soon perceiv'd that their wonted Fury was but too effectually cool'd by the late disastrous War, in which most of 'em had seen the Death of some of their Relations: And instead of offering him their Assistance, they told him in a blunt and clownish Manner, that they wanted neither *Herrings* nor *Salt* under the Dominion of the King of *Denmark*, but cou'd not avoid certain Destruction, if they shou'd make the least Attempt against so potent a Prince.

Gustavus was equally vex'd, and surpris'd at so unexpected a Disappointment. He knew not what to do, nor whether to retire: He cou'd not be safe
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1519. in Sweden, but at the Head of an Army; the *Danes* were still in quest of him, and he cou'd neither continue long in one place, nor make frequent Removes without exposing himself to manifest and even almost unavoidable Dangers. At last he resolv'd, tho' with the hazard of his Life, to get into *Stockholm*, hoping that his Presence wou'd inspire the *Burghers*, and Garrison with new Resolution and Courage, and that by making a brave Defence, he might prevail with the *Hanse Towns*, to send him a seasonable Relief. He left the Castle of *Kefnas*, without acquainting any Person with his Design, and travell'd for some Days thro' by Ways, spending the Night in solitary Cottages, to avoid meeting with his vigilant Pursuers. But notwithstanding all his Caution, he was once in so great Danger of being surpriz'd, that the Enemy came but an Hour too late. So that finding it impossible to proceed on his Journey, without falling into the Hands of the *Danes*, he return'd by another Road, and in so pressing an Extremity, resolv'd to take Sanctuary for some time in a Convent of *Carthusians* at *Griphysolm*, which was founded by his Ancestors. But the Monks preferring their present Interest to the Memory of past Favours, refus'd to admit him, under pretext that they were afraid of exposing their House and Order, to the Fury and Indignation of the *Danes*. And therefore perceiving that 'twou'd be in vain to expect a safe Retreat, where there was so little Appearance of Generosity or Gratitude, he return'd to the Province of *Sudermania*, and retir'd to the House of a *Peasant*, that had been an old Servant in his Family, where he lay hid for some time, and sent his Host with Letters to several Lords, endeavouring to re-animate their drooping Courage, and inspire 'em with a noble Resolution to recover their Liberty and

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and Honour. But they were so terrifi'd and over-
aw'd by the presence of the *Danish* General, and by
the report he had industriously spread abroad,
that King *Christiern* was ready to enter the King-
dom at the head of a powerful Army, that they durst
not discover the least inclination to a Revolt. In
the mean time, *Gustavus* comforted himself with the
hope of some Revolution after that Prince's arrival,
concluding that the severity of his Government
would rouse the aversion of the *Swedes* against
their ancient Enemies. King *Christiern*, long'd ex-
tremely to enjoy the Fruit of his Victories, and to
awe his new Subjects with the sight of their Con-
queror. He enter'd *Sweden* in the Spring, as he had
intimated in his Letter to the General, and was re-
ceiv'd by the Archbishop and the rest of the Prelates
with all the joy that usually appears in the Air and
Behaviour, of the Fortunate. The Archbishop es-
pecially thought himself oblig'd to signalize his
zeal on this occasion, and to express a more than
ordinary Satisfaction for the success of a Revoluti-
on by which he hop'd to be the principal gainer: For
he concluded that as soon as the King had com-
pleted the Conquest of *Sweden*, he would entrust
him with the sole management of his Authority.

Christiern at his arrival solemnly ratifi'd the trea-
ty of *Upsal*, and as if that Ceremony had given
him an uncontroverted Title to the Crown, he dis-
patch'd Expresses immediately to the Administra-
tor's Widow at *Stockholm*, and to the Governour of
Calmar requiring 'em to surrender these two places.
The Governor Capitulated without expecting a
siege; and *Christiern* without employing any other
Artillery than what he drew from his purse, made
himself Master of that important place, which was
the most considerable Port in the Kingdom next to
Stockholm. He confer'd the Government of it up-
on *Severin de Norbi*, Governor of the Isle of *Goth-*
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1520. *Land*, and Admiral of *Denmark*, who insinuated himself into that Prince's Favor, by expressing upon all occasions an intire resignation to his desires and inclinations, at a time when the Senators of *Denmark*, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom claim'd a Right to offer their advice to the Prince and even to contradict his Opinion when they thought it inconsistent with the good of the Nation.

But the Administrator's Widow express'd a more Heroical Resolution than that treacherous Governor. She sent *Christiern* word that she would never submit to the Destroyer of her Family and Country, nor comply with the Resolutions of an Assembly that was compos'd of Traitors and Rebels, and govern'd by the Enemies of the Nation. The Courage of that Princess and the boldness of her Answer was a sufficient Intimation to *Christiern*, that the Conquest of *Stockholm* would cost him dearer and require more substantial Batteries than that of *Calmar*. And therefore since he perceiv'd that in all probability the Garrison would make an obstinate Defence, he advanc'd with his Army to invest the Place, and order'd Admiral *Norby* to block up the Port with his Fleet.

He carry'd on the Siege with all the earnestness and vigor that can be suppos'd to animate an Ambitious Prince, who is just upon the point of compleating the Conquest of a Kingdom. He was day and night on Horse-back; he encourag'd his Souldiers both by his own Example, and by considerable Rewards; he went daily to the Trenches, and visited the most advanc'd Works; he shar'd all the danger and fatigue of the Siege with the meanest of his Soldiers; and, which was still a more difficult and laborious Task, he curb'd the impetuous violence of his humor, dissembled his secret and implacable aversion against the *Swedish* Nation, and

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and even caress'd the Nobility to keep 'em from taking up Arms for the Defence of their Princess, and the Preservation of their Country. 1520.

In the mean time, the Administrator's Widow made a brave resistance: The Soldiers of the Garrison animated by her Presence, and the Inhabitants encourag'd by the Success of their late Defence, repuls'd the Attacks of their Enemies with incredible Valor. But tho' they wanted neither Courage nor Resolution, they began to suffer extremely for want of Provisions and Ammunition; and the City was so straiten'd by the Besiegers both by Sea and Land, that they cou'd not hope to be reliev'd, tho' their Countrymen or All'ies shou'd have taken the Field in their Defence. The King of *Denmark* was inform'd of their Condition by some Deserters, and receiv'd the welcome News with extraordinary Transports of Joy. He knew that the Conquest of *Sweden* depended on the Reduction of the Capital City, and was still afraid least *Gustavus*, whose Residence he cou'd not discover, shou'd raise an Insurrection in some part of the Kingdom, or perswade the *Hanse-Towns*, to make a Diversion in *Denmark*.

He sent a new Summons to the Administrator's Widow, to open the Gates at *Stockholm*; and to perswade her to a speedy Submission, he order'd his Messenger to represent to her, that her Obstinacy cou'd not prevent the Loss of the Town; that he was Master of the whole Kingdom; that his Army was lodg'd at the Foot of the Wall, and only expected the Signal for a general Assault; that he was sorry she seem'd resolv'd to expose her self to the Disorders that are usually committed when a Place is taken by Storm; and that since the Convention of the Estates at *Upsal* had by a solemn Treaty declar'd him Sovereign of the Kingdom, her Resistance cou'd not be esteem'd

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1520. less criminal than an open Rebellion; especially since she headed a Faction that was excommunicated by the Pope. At the same time he offer'd to agree with her upon the following Conditions; that her Estate shou'd be preserv'd entire; that she shou'd still enjoy the same Dignity and Honours which she possess'd during the Life of her Husband; that the Prisoner on both sides shou'd be releas'd without paying any Ransom; and that the City of *Stockholm*, shou'd continue in the Possession of all Privileges.

'Twas not without an extreme Reluctancy, that the Princess condescended to hear so unwelcome a Message. 'Tis certainly the most sensible Mortification that can befall a Sovereign, when he is oblig'd to divest himself of his belov'd Power, especially when his Disaster is attended with this cruel Circumstance, that he must resign his Authority to his Enemy. However the Ambassador's Widow was so sensible of the hopeless Posture of her Affairs, that she was at last persuaded by her Council to treat with the King of *Denmark*. The Articles of the Capitulation were drawn by the Consuls and Magistrates of *Stockholm*, who took care to make 'em as advantageous to the Princess, as they durst propose in the present Juncture. Nor did the King make the least Scruple to grant all the Terms which they desir'd, well knowing that assoon as he shou'd be Master of the City, 'twou'd be in his Power to give what Sense he pleas'd to the Articles of the Treaty. Thus he sign'd the Capitulation, and was receiv'd into *Stockholm*, at the Head of 4000 Men, whom he left to keep Garrison in the Place.


September.

He call'd a Meeting of the Estates to be held on the Fourth of *November*; and appointed the same Day for the Solemnity of his Coronation. After-

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Afterwards he sent Detachments from his Army to the principal Places of the Kingdom, to keep the Provinces in awe. He sent back the General whom he suspected by reason of the Glory of his Victories, and his Interest among the Soldiers, and having entrusted *Norbi*, with the Command of the Army, and the Archbishop of *Upsal* with the Management of the State, he march'd with all possible Diligence to *Denmark*, at the Head of his *French* and *German* Auxiliaries, having receiv'd repeated Advices that his Presence was absolutely necessary in that Kingdom to crush a brooding Revolt.

He stood in need of all his Power, and of the Fame of his Conquests and Arms, to keep his Subjects from breaking out into open Rebellion. The People encourag'd by his Absence, and by the Necessity of his present Circumstances, which oblig'd him to remove his Forces; obstinately refus'd to pay the new Taxes, which he had laid upon 'em. They were generally dissatisfy'd, and complain'd against the Government; they blam'd him openly for invading *Sweden*, and gave out that his Army was beaten, tho' that Report was only grounded on their Wishes that it might prove true. The Senate, and principal Lords of the Kingdom were so far from opposing and suppressing so visible a Tendency to a Revolt, that they fomented the Discontent of the People. They hated *Christiern* for excluding 'em from their wonted share in the Government; and were incens'd even to Madness, because he seem'd only to assume an Arbitrary Power, that he might lodge it entirely in the Hands of an old *Dutch* Woman call'd *Sigebrite*, who had neither *Birth* nor *Beauty* to engage his Affection, and yet, meerly by her *Wit* and *Cunning*, had made him one of the most desperate Lovers in the

1520.  World. She govern'd him with an absolute and uncontroul'd Empire; her Pleasure was the Supreme Law, on which the Fate of the Court, and of the whole Kingdom depended. 'Twas as impossible to undermine, as 'twas dangerous to oppose her Interest: She gave, and took away all Places, Offices, and Dignities as she pleas'd, without regarding the Laws of the Countrey; and not unfrequently undertook the Management and Promoting of unjust Designs, on purpose to show the Arbitrariness of her Power. *Yet notwithstanding her Age, and other Defects, the deluded King approv'd all that she did, and seem'd ambitious to be reckon'd the principal Minister of her Pleasure.*

The quick Return of that Monarch from his victorious Expedition surpriz'd his murmuring Subjects, and broke all their Designs. They endeavour'd with all possible care to conceal their Discontent, and to express a seeming Joy for their Prince's Success. He was receiv'd at his Arrival with all those Marks of Affection and Respect, which are the perpetual Companions of the Fortunate. His Ministers, according to the usual Maxims of Courtiers, who are always ready to flatter, and comply with the Humour, and Inclinations of their Sovereign, told him in a Cabinet-Council, that in pursuance of the indispensable Rules of Policy, he ought to secure the principal Lords of Sweden; that he could not hope to preserve his Conquests, without abolishing the *Senate* of that Kingdom, which they represented as a Body of Factious Persons, who upon all occasions assum'd a Liberty to controul and oppose the Royal Authority; that there was not one Member of that Assembly, who would not joyfully embrace the first Opportunity of a Revolt, to make himself Master of the Sovereign Power

Power under the Title of *Administrator*, which for several Years had been the Reward of the Authors, and Fomenters of a successful Rebellion; that he ought to rid himself of the Senators, who were formidable to the Crown, by reason of the vastness of their Estates, and the Authority they had over the People; and that he ought only to leave such Persons in the Kingdom, whose Ambition was curb'd by the meanness of their Condition, and who could not pretend to any higher Employment than Tilling the Ground, and paying Tribute to their Sovereign.

In the mean time *Sigebryte* made it her business to confirm the Opinion, and Advice of these flattering Courtiers, by representing to the King, that his Victory would be imperfect, and the Consequences of it doubtful and uncertain, while there were any Lords in the Kingdom, able or willing to dispute the Lawfulness of his Title; that the Senators and the principal Noblemen were implacable Enemies to his Authority; that he ought to secure his Conquests, and compleat his Victory by the Death of those who were in a Condition to oppose him; that to prevent all future Disturbances, he ought not to spare even those who were most zealous and active in promoting his Interest; that the seeming Friendship of the Bishops was only an Effect of the Ancient Emulation and Animosity betwixt them and the Nobility; and that those ambitious Prelates would prove the most dangerous Rebels, if he should give 'em the least occasion to suspect that he intended to curb their Authority, or exclude 'em from a share in the Government.

The inhumane Politics of this *She-Favorite* were extremely agreeable to the fierce and cruel Humour of a Prince, who look'd upon the Liberty

1520. of his Subjects as inconsistent with his Honour and Safety. He imagin'd that his Authority was essentially annex'd to the Dignity of his Character, without any Dependence upon the Laws of the Kingdom, and that his Will was the only Rule and Standard of his Government. These were the Principles and Maxims by which he regulated his Actions; so that he was easily persuaded to Sacrifice the Senate, and most considerable Noblemen of *Sweden*, to the Extravagancy of his Ambition, and to secure his Conquests by the Death of so many illustrious Victims. But he wanted a specious Pretext to justify, or at least to excuse so barbarous an Attempt; for he durst not without a plausible Shew of Reason proceed to the Execution of so many Persons of Quality, who had voluntarily submitted to him, and rely'd upon the Faith of a solemn Treaty.


Sigebrite advis'd him to commit the Execution of that inhumane Sentence to the Officers of the Garrison of *Stockholm*, who, under the Pretext of a Quarrel betwixt the Soldiers and Inhabitants of the City, might encourage the former to execute their Revenge, by an Universal Massacre of all the Persons of Note in the Town. But notwithstanding the natural Impetuosity of his Temper, he was loath to venture upon an Attempt that was clogg'd with so many Difficulties, and might probably be attended with dangerous and fatal Consequences: He consider'd that the Burghers of that City were numerous, and inur'd to War by the late Siege which they had sustain'd; that the Garrison might be overpower'd, and cut to pieces in the Heat of the Tumult; and that the Success of their Resistance might serve as a Signal for a Revolt thro' the whole Kingdom.



For these Reasons he chose rather to make use of the Pretext of *Excommunication*, and of the pretended Injustice that was done to the Archbishop, that the People might be deluded by a certain Appearance of Uniformity, and coherency in all his Proceedings, and that he might seem to be acted only by a stedfast Zeal for executing the Pope's Bull against the Enemies of that Prelate. He spent some time in *Denmark*, in contriving the most probable Measures, and giving necessary Orders to prevent the Commotions that might happen in his Absence; and before his Departure disbanded the *French* Troops that were in his Service. This was probably an Effect of his Complaisance to his Brother-in-Law, *Charles of Austria*, who not long before had obtained the Imperial Dignity; for the Soldiers were not only dismiss'd with all the Marks of Contempt and Disrespect, but treated rather as Prisoners of War, than as Allies, and Auxiliary Forces, to whose Valour he ow'd the best part of his Conquests. They could neither obtain the Payment of their Arrears, nor a Supply of necessary Provisions; nor wou'd he furnish 'em with Ship to transport 'em to their own Country; so that they were forc'd to wander about the Country, like a Company of stragling Vagabonds. Many of 'em were starv'd to Death, others were Massacr'd by the *Danes*, some were constrain'd to list themselves in the *Danish* Service, and their Officers were oblig'd to encounter with a Thousand Difficulties in bringing home the reste.

At *Frankfort*, June 20. 1519.

As soon as the King had order'd his Affairs in *Denmark*, he prepar'd for his Departure to *Sweden*, that he might be present at the Convention of the Estates, which he had call'd in Order to the performing of the Ceremony of his Coronation. *Sigeburce* advis'd him to carry two *Danish* Sena-

1520.  tors along with him, that the Cruelty of his premeditated Attempt might in some Measure be authoriz'd by their presence, and that the Blame of so inhumane an Action might be laid on these Ministers.

'Twas by her Advice that he made Choice of *Theodore* Archbishop of *Lunden*, and Primate of *Denmark*, and the Bishop of *Odensee*, one of his Suffragans; the same to whom he had formerly procur'd the Bull of Excommunication to be directed, which Pope *Leo* the Tenth publish'd against the Administrator. They were intirely devoted to the Court, and were only respected as the Ministers of the King's irregular Passions. He plac'd a great deal of Confidence in the Archbishop of *Lunden*, who was a person of mean Birth, and cou'd neither be reckon'd a *Scholar* nor a *Statesman*; but to make amends for these Defects, he a most ingenious Contriver of new and refin'd pleasures, and admirably well acquainted with all the Secrets and Improvements of that mysterious Art. He ow'd his Advancement, and the Favor of his Master to *Sigebrite*, who first brought him to Court to serve her in the Quality of a Spy; and afterwards rais'd him from the mean Office of the King's Barber, to the Dignity of Archbishop of *Lunden*. And as he had the good Fortune to be supported by so powerful a Benefactress, he quickly became the Favorite and Confident of his Master, by furnishing him with a constant Supply of fresh and diversify'd Pleasures.

The King set Sail for *Sweden*, accompany'd with the Queen his Wife, and attended by all the Court. But *Sigebrite* declin'd the Voyage, either because she was unwilling to expose her self to the Satyrical Mirth of the *Swedish* Lords, who were oftentimes wont to make the King's extravagant Passion

Passion to his old Mistress, the Subject of their Wit and Diversion; or because that Prince thought fit to leave her a *Copenhagen*, to observe the Motions of the Senate.

At his arrival in *Sweden*, he receiv'd an Ambassador from the Emperor, who came to invest him with the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and to congratulate his Victories, and the happy Success of all his Designs. The Concern which the Emperor express'd for promoting the Interest of his Brother-in-Law, was too warm and zealous to be reckon'd meely an Effect of their *Affinity*, which seldom or never produces so strong an Affection among *Sovereigns*. 'Tis thought that aspiring Prince bestow'd his Sister upon the King of *Denmark*, on Condition that he shou'd declare him to be his Successor in the three Kingdoms of the *North*, in Case he shou'd die without issue. Those who are acquainted with the Character of *Charl. V.* will never suppose him guilty of neglecting to take the most promising Measures, to secure so important a Branch of the *Universal Monarchy*. This was his beloved Project, the Object of all his Hope and Desires, and the Aiery Mistress whom he courted, or rather ador'd with so eager and lasting a Passion. And the same Fondness for that imaginary Scheme seems to have been entail'd upon his Family and Successors, till the Terror and Rapidity of the *Swedish* Conquests, and the fortunate Valor of their Royal Leader rous'd the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* out of his Golden Dream, and instead of a vain Ambition to extend his Empire over of all *Europe*, oblig'd him to content himself with defending the Hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*.

*Gustavus
Adolphus.*
1631.

Christiern put off the Ceremony of receiving the Order of the *Golden Fleece* till the day of his Coronation, that the Solemnity might be more splendid and magni-

1520. magnificent : And in the mean time he took secret Measures with the Archbishop of *Upsal*, to execute their Revenge upon their common Enemies. The Result of their Consultations was, that the Archbishop shou'd appear in the Convention, and present an Address to the King, demanding Justice against those who depriv'd him of his Dignity and Estate. Matters being thus concerted, the King open'd the Meeting of the Estates, where he was solemnly acknowledg'd as the lawful Sovereign of *Sweden*. The next Day the Archbishop perform'd the Ceremony of his Coronation; and the King swore upon the Gospels, and the Reliques of the Saints, that he wou'd inviolably preserve and maintain the Laws, Privileges, and Customs of the Nation. The Senate, Clergy, Nobility, and the Deputies of the Provinces took the usual Oath of Fidelity to him; and the Emperor's Ambassador appearing in the Midst of the Assembly, presented him with the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and in his Master's Name wish'd him a prosperous and successful Reign.

Novem-
ber 4.

Afterwards, the new King invited all the Lords to a magnificent Feast, which he had order'd to be prepar'd in the Castle, as a public Mark of his Joy upon the Occasion of his Accession to the Crown. The Senate in a Body, and all the principal Noblemen, who were then at *Stockholm*, attended his Majesty in obedience to his Desire: The two first Days were spent in Entertainments, and all manner of solemn and diverting Recreations; the King receiv'd his Guests with all the Marks of an obliging Kindness and Familiarity, and the mutual Averſion, which had been so long fomented betwixt the two opposite Factions, seem'd to be intirely forgotten and extinguish'd. The *Swedes* endeavour'd to lose the Memory of their Ancient Fears and Jealousies, and flatter'd them-

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selves with the Prospect of a lasting and undisturb'd Happiness; but on the third Day they were awaken'd out of their excessive Security in a most terrible and surprizing Manner.

The Archbishop of *Upsal*, accompanied with his Relations and Creatures, appear'd before the King in a full Meeting of the Estates, and publicly demanded Justice against the deceas'd *Administrator*, and all the Senators and Lords of the Kingdom, who forc'd him to resign his Dignity, and demolish'd the Fort of *Stegus*, which belong'd to the Patrimony of the Church. The King declin'd meddling with an Affair, of which he pretended that the Pope's Commissioners were the only proper Judges, and desir'd the Archbishop to propose his Grievances to the Two *Danish* Prelates, to whom the Bull publish'd by *Leo X.* was directed, protesting that he wou'd only make use of his Authority to execute their Sentence according to the Bull, and the Intentions of the Holy Father.

Immediately the Two *Danish* Prelates, who where the secret Ministers of the Passions of that Monarch, requir'd and demanded, that the *Administrator's* Widow shou'd be brought before 'em, to give an Account of her Husband's Actions; tho' it was both inconsistent with Reason, and the usual Methods of proceeding in such Cases, that a Woman shou'd be made accountable for the Behaviour of her Husband, in the Management of Affairs of State, concerning which Persons of that Sex are very rarely consulted. However the King, without considering the Justice of their Demand, oblig'd the Princess to come to the Assembly. She appear'd before him with a modest Assurance, and at first refus'd to plead before the Pope's Commissioners. She put the King in mind of the Treaties of *Upsal* and *Srockholm*, by which he solemnly oblig'd

1520. oblig'd himself to bury all that was past in Oblivion, conjuring him to let her Husband rest quietly in his Grave, and to pity the Fate of a Princess who had nothing left but her Fears and Sorrow. But that inexorable Prince, with a seeming Calmness, referr'd the Hearing of her Defence to the Pope's Commissioners, under pretext that the *Archbishop's* Complaint had no Relation to the Differences that were formerly betwixt him and the *Administrator*.

The Princess perceiving that the King was inflexible, and that she must resolve to defend the Actions of the Prince her Husband, answer'd at last with a great deal of Courage, that the *Administrator* besieg'd the Archbishop, and demolish'd his Castle by virtue of express Order from the *Estates* and *Senate* of the Kingdom; that the Archbishop was arraign'd and convicted of Treason against his Country, according to the usual Forms of proceeding in such Cases that were prescrib'd by the Laws of the Nation; and that his Sentence was still extant in the Publick Registers, sign'd by all the Senators both Secular and Ecclesiastical.

Tho' the King was acquainted with all the Circumstances of that Affair, he sent for the Registers, and order'd the Archbishop's Sentence to be read publickly before the Assembly, with the Names of all those who subscrib'd it: after which he went out, as if he had only withdrawn that the Commissioners might not be under the least Appearance of a Constraint. But immediately after the whole Assembly was alarm'd with the sight of a Troop of his Guards, who came by his Order to arrest the Administrator's Widow, the Senators, Bishops, and all the *Swedish* Lords and Gentlemen that were in the Castle.

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The *Danish* Bishops, by virtue of the Pope's Commission, began to proceed against 'em as Hereticks, as if the Inquisition had been establish'd in that Country. But the King of *Denmark* being unwilling to loose time in examining and convicting those whom he had already doom'd to Destruction, and fearing least their Friends shou'd make an attempt to relieve 'em, resolv'd to dispence with the Formality of a Tryal, and sent Executioners to acquaint the Prisoners with their approaching Fate. *Novemb.*

The Eighth of *November* was the day appointed for the Fatal Solemnity. In the Morning a Proclamation was publish'd by the Heralds with sound of Trumpet, prohibiting all Persons, in the King's Name, to go out of the City, upon pain of Death. The whole Garrison was in Arms, and the were *Corps de Guard* at all the Gates, and in all there public Places of the City. The Great Guns were mounted in the Market-place, with their Mouth's turn'd toward the principal Streets; the People were seiz'd with Terror, and expected with a melancholic impatience the event of these unusual Preparations. At last, about Noon, the Gates of the Castle were open'd, and disclos'd the mournful Scene: A Troop of Illustrious Victims, who for the most part were still adorn'd with the Badges of their Dignity, march'd out in a dismal Pomp, and were led by their Executioners to the Slaughter.

As soon as they came to the Place of Execution, a *Danish* Officer read the Pope's Bull aloud, as if it had been the Sentence of their Condemnation; adding that they were Executed by the Orders of the Apostolical Commissioners, and the Advice of the Archbishop of *Upsal*. The Bishops and the rest of the Lords begg'd earnestly that some *Confessors* might be suffer'd to assist

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1520. 'em at their Death : But the Inhumane King refus'd to grant 'em the last Comfort they were capable of enjoying, either to glut his implacable Rage with the barbarons delight of exposing his Enemies to Punishments in another World, or because he was unwilling to treat 'em as *Catholicks* after they had been Condemn'd as *Hereticks*. Nor was the cruelty of his Policy less remarkable in the Resolution he took to Sacrifice his Friends, that people might not suspect that his pretended *Zeal* was meerly the Effect of *Revenge*. The Bishops of *Stregnez* and *Scara* were known to be devoted to his Interest, but all the Faithful and Important Services they had done him could not procure so much as a Mitigation of their Sentence : Their being Members of the Senate was their Crime, [and their Signing the Archbishops Condemnation was the pretext of their Punishment.

Jonh
Brach.
Loc. l. 5 p.
203.
Olaus
Magnus,
an Eye-
witness.
Ziglerus.
an Eye-
witness of
the Massi-
acre of
Stock-
holm.

Yet the Bishop of *Lincoping* escap'd the fatal Blow ; for as the Executioner was just going to cut off his Head, he told the *Danish* Officers who was appointed by the King to see the Execution perform'd, that he might find an undeniable Proof of his Innocence under the Signet of his Coat of Arms, which he had affix'd to the Archbishop's Sentence, and begg'd him to send some Person to examine the truth of his Assertion. The King being inform'd of his Request lifted up the Wax with his own Hand, and found a little Note, which that cunning Prelate had slip under it, as if he had foreseen the Tragical Consequences of that Affair. He protested, in the Note, that he was forc'd to Sign the Archbishop's Sentence to avoid the Indignation of his Enemies, who threaten'd to treat him after the same manner. This Politic Contrivance sav'd his Life, for the King order'd him to be set at liberty, to show that,

that he only design'd to punish the Archbishop's Enemies, and those of the Administrator's Party, who he pretended, were involv'd in the Sentence of Excommunication which the Pope pronounc'd against that Prince.

1520.




Then they proceeded to the Execution of the Lay-Senators, beginning with *Eric, Gustavus's* Father. The *Consuls* and *Magistrates of Stockholm*, and *Ninety four* Lords who were arrested in the Castle underwent the same Fate. Yet the King instead of being satisfi'd with the Death of so many illustrious Persons, was extremely vex'd, that some Lords, whom he had particularly inserted in the black Roll, had escap'd his Fury. He imagin'd that they lay conceal'd in the Town, and was so afraid lest they shou'd make their Escape, and so desirous to discover *Gustavus*, who he thought might be hid in some House in the City, that to give a full Scope to his Vengeance, he resolv'd to confound the Innocent with the Guilty, and to expose the Town to the Fury of his Soldiers. Assoon as they had receiv'd those bloody Orders, they fell upon the People that were come to be Witnesses of that dismal Spectacle, and promiscuously murder'd all that had the misfortune to be in their way. Afterwards they broke into the Principal Houses, under pretext of searching for *Gustavus*: and the rest of the proscrib'd Lords: The Citizens were stabb'd in the Arms of their howling Wives, their Houses were plunder'd, and the Honor of their Wives and Daughters was expos'd to the brutish Lust of the Soldiers. None were spar'd, but those who were protected either by *Poverty* or *Ugliness*: All the rest were made a Prey to the Rage of the Soldiers, who by the Orders and after the Example of their Inhumane Sovereign, strove to outdo each other in the wildest and most extravagant Barbarity.

A Cer-

Eric
Abraham
Eric Johanson,
Eric Canut, Eric Rining,
Eric and Eschille
Nicolai,
Jofchim Brahe,
Magnus Greer,
Eric Kufius, Olinus Beror,
Gannar Gallus,
Benedict Erici
John Gudmund,
Andrew Olai, and Andrew Erici, *Consuls of Stockholm.*

1520.

 A certain Gentleman of the *Swedish* Nation was so sensibly touch'd with the moving sight of so many deplorable Objects, that he cou'd not restrain the Impetuosity of his Grief, nor behold such a Scene of Horror without bewailing the Misery of his Country. The furious King was so enrag'd at those Marks of Compassion which his guilty Conscience interpreted as secret Reproaches of his Cruelty, that he commanded the Unfortunate Mourner to be fasten'd to a Gibbet. His Privy Members were cut off, his Belly ript up, and his Heart pluck'd out, as if *Pity* and *Compassion* had been the foulest and most Enormous Crimes. Afterwards the King pretending that the *Administrator*, by incurring the Sentence of *Excommunication* had render'd himself unworthy of *Christian Burial*, order'd his Body to be taken up and expos'd in the public Place among the mangl'd Carcasses of his Ancient Friends. He issu'd out an Order that no Person shou'd presume to bury any of these Bodies upon pain of Death; and wou'd have suffer'd 'em to lie in the open Place, as a terrible Monument of his Vengeance, if the stench and Putrefaction had not oblig'd him to command 'em to be taken away. But before they were remov'd, he cou'd not forbear going on purpose to take a view of the dismal Trophies of his Fury. At last he order'd 'em to be carry'd out of the City and *Burnt*, that even Death it self might not exempt 'em from a second Punishment, which he pretended to inflict upon 'em as *Excommunicated* Persons.

Afterwards he ordain'd that the *Administrator's* Widow shou'd be drown'd, but the Execution of that cruel Sentence was prevented by Admiral *Norbi*, who under a seeming Complaisance and Resignation to all the Humors and Inclinations of his Master conceal'd a secret Pro-
ject



ject of high and ambitious Designs. He was persuaded that so Tyrannical a Government could not be long maintain'd; he saw himself Master of a potent Fleet, Governor of the Isle of *Gothland* that lies opposite to the Coast of *Sweden*, and of the City of *Calmar* which was the second Port in the Kingdom. He plac'd so much confidence in his Power and in his Interest at Court, that he did not think himself oblig'd to set any Limits to his aspiring desires: He fancy'd that he might one day raise himself above the Quality of a *Subject*, and lay aside the Title of a *Favorite* to assume that of a *Prince*. He flatter'd his Ambition with the secret hope of marrying the *Administrator's* Widow, concluding that her Interest and Authority would facilitate his Accession to the Crown of *Sweden*, or at least to the dignity of *Administrator*. And therefore to save that Princess's Life he told the King his Master that she would deliver up all her Husband's Treasures for her Ransom. The King who was as *Covetous* as *Cruel*, consented to recall her doom upon that condition, and imagining that she was extremely oblig'd to his Mercy for changing her punishment to a perpetual Imprisonment. He sent her to *Denmark*, with *Gustavus's* Mother and Sister, and the rest of the *Swedish* Ladies whose Husbands perish'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*. They were thrown into different Prisons, where they were very ill treated without any regard to their Birth, Sex or Beauty and kept 'em as Hostages for the Fidelity of the Children, and Rulations that they left in *Sweden*.

Christiern imagin'd that he had establish'd his Authority by this Massacre of all the principal Nobility, he thought himself too powerful, and too formidable to the rest of the *Swedes* to be a-



1520. fraid of 'em, he chang'd the Form of the Government at his Pleasure, and order'd matters as in a conquer'd Country, he oppress'd the People with new Taxes, he threatned the *Peasants* to cause one of their Feet and Hands to be cut off, adding in a kind of Raillery, that a *Peasant* who was born for the Plow, and not for the War, ought to content himself with one Hand, and a wooden Leg.

He nominated *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Lunden*, Vice-Roy in his Absence, and appointed the Archbishop of *Upsal*, and the Bishop of *Oldensee* for his Ministers and Councillors, advancing these two *Danish* Prelates, by his absolute Power, to the Rich Bishopricks of *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, without any regard to the Rights of these two Churches, which had a Privilege to choose their own Bishops. And he had also Interest enough at *Rome*, to induce the Pope to allow of the Intrusion of these two *Danish* Prelates, whose Hands were in a manner imbru'd in the Blood of their Brethren. *Christiern* at his Departure, gave Orders to spare neither Pains nor Cost, to discover *Gustavus's* Retreat; he set a Price upon his Head, and promis'd considerable Summs of Mony to those that shou'd bring him Prisoner, dead or alive, after which he return'd to *Denmark*, laden with the Curses of the *Swedes*, by whom he was styl'd the Northern *Nero*.

His Troops in his Absence continu'd the Barbarities, they had exercis'd in the Capital City, many Lord's were surpriz'd, and Massacr'd in their Castles by his Order, without laying any other Crime to their Charge, than that they were eminent for Birth and Courage; neither was the ordinary Pretext of Excommunication any longer made use of; it was Crime enough to be accus'd of being too rich, or of having Interest in the

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Province. The Vice-Roy swallow'd up in Pleasure, spent his Time in heaping up Money, by the Confiscation of the Goods and Estates of those that were daily out-law'd; The chief Officers of his Army ravag'd the Provinces, every ones Troop being independent and separate, without any Order or Discipline; and among so many different Interests, and so little Subjection, they thought of nothing else but pillaging and oppressing the People.

The Nobility terrify'd with so many Massacres, and not well united among themselves, destitute of a Head, Money and Forces, were oblig'd to avoid the *Danish* Cruelty, to submit to the Archbishop; So that every one strove to court this Prelate, and every one would be thought to have done it always. It seem'd as if all the *Swedish* Gentry had perish'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*, for no Body would acknowledge that they had serv'd in the Administrator's Army, the greater Part of the Nobility were glad to be employ'd in the Vice Roy's Troops, as a secure *Asylum*: And the Calamities of *Sweden* were so great, that even their Happiness was envy'd that were allow'd to be Soldiers, tho' to fight against their own Country.

Admiral *Norbi* feigning to commiserate this deplorable State of *Sweden*, receiv'd many Gentlemen on board his Ships, and into his Governments; and affected to treat 'em with all manner of Civility, with Relation to his secret Designs: Those that were not under his Protection, being uncertain of their Fate, and always between Hope and Despair, were expos'd to the Insolence and Avarice of the *Danes*; and it was dangerous for those who were not of the Archbishop's Party to be possess'd of an Estate: And whosoever had

1520. been his Enemies, were forc'd either to escape by Flight, or resolve to die: For this haughty Prelate pardon'd none, but destroy'd all his Adversaries under pretence of Sacrificing them to the publick Safety, but above all, he Endeavour'd to to make himself Master of *Gustavus's* Person whom he hated as a Kinsman and Favourite of the deceased Administrator; besides he knew very well that he could not better make his Court to *Christiern* than by Imprisoning or Destroying that Lord.

Gustavus during his retreat look'd about him on all sides to see if he could discover any thing that might favour his designs; he had privately sent to *Stockholm*, that old Servant at whose house he lay conceal'd, to inform him of the Occurrences of the State. And at his return it was that he heard of the Death of his Father and all the Senators, and the general Massacre that had happen'd in that miserable City; this so lamentable a piece of news did extremely afflict him, the Death of so many Lords, having taken off all his Family and Friends, and almost depriv'd him of all means and hopes of saving himself. He knew not what measures to take, nor whether to retire, for he was encompass'd with *Danish* Troops, and knew very well that besides the great promises, to any that shou'd discover him, all those were threatned with Death that had conceal'd or shou'd not immediately deliver him up. So that he durst not stir from the place he was in, nor trust any of the *Swedes*, lest the great rewards shou'd make 'em betray him. He resolv'd in this exigence privately to retreat to the Mountains of *Dalicarlia*, hoping he might easily lye hid in the Woods with which that Country is cover'd, and imagin'd that it would not be difficult to cause

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the Inhabitants to Revolt, being the last of the Kingdom that submitted to the *Danish* Dominion. There was not one good Town in the whole Province, and hardly any but small Villages Situated on the edges of the Forests, or on the banks of Lakes and Rivers, some of these Villages depended on the Gentlemen of the Country, but most belong'd to the Crown and were Govern'd by the *Peasants* themselves; the Elders in every Village supply'd the place of Judges and Captains, tho' these were neither more Powerful nor Richer than their Neighbours; the Honour of Commander consisting only in the privilege of Fighting at the head of the Troops; for the chief Power was in the hands of the Multitude, who Assembl'd on holydays, and took upon them to determine all manner of Affairs.

The Government durst not send either Troops or Garrisons into this Province, nor did the Kings themselves ever enter it, till they had given pledges to the Inhabitants for maintaining their Privileges; they manag'd with caution this Savage People who inhabited in inaccessible Mountains, lest they shou'd discover that it was in their power no longer to obey, and were contented with the Tribute of a few skins only from these *Peasants*, and for the rest, they were suffer'd to Live according to their own particular Customs which were very different from those of the other Provinces.

Gustavus in the disguise of a *Peasant*, set forward on his way to these Mountains, accompany'd only with a Country Fellow, who serv'd for his guide. He cross'd over the whole Country of *Sudermania*, then pass'd between *Nericia* and *Westmania*, and after the fatigues of a long and dangerous Journey arriv'd safe in that part of

1520. the Mountains of *Dalecarlia* which the Natives call'd *Daulfield*.

He had no sooner enter'd into the Country, but he was abandon'd by his guide, who robb'd him of all the money that he had provided for his Subsistence: He wander'd up and down in those dreadful Mountains, and amidst those Savages, destitute of Company, Friends and Money; not daring to own his Name, or discover himself, he was forc'd for a Living, and to be conceal'd, to hire himself for a Labourer and to work in the Copper-Mines, from whence the People of these parts have their chiefest Subsistence, he was always at work with the other Miners to get his Livelihood, and lay bur'd as it were in those Subterranean Work-houses.

Gustavus hop'd that the Misery of his Condition might serve at least to conceal him, and that they would never think of searching for the General of the *Swedish* Horse in so sorry a Habitation, notwithstanding which he was discover'd and known in this Disguise. For a Woman in whose House he Lodg'd accidentally perceiv'd under his Labourers Habit, a Silke Robe Embroider'd with Gold; which news was soon carri'd to the whole Village, and came to the Ears of the Lord of the Place, who either out of curiosity of seeing a Stranger whose Gentile Mien was much talk'd of, or rather that this disguise made him believe him to be one of the Proscrib'd, came to the Mines with intent to offer him his House and to contribute to his Safety; but was extremely surpriz'd when he found it to be *Gustavus*, whom it was not very difficult for him to discover, because he having spent his Youth with him in the University of *Upsal*: And though he was much concern'd to see this Young Lord in so miserable a

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Condition, yet he feigned not to know him, lest it might discover him to others; but as soon as he return'd to his House he sent for him by a private Messenger, and having in a most obliging manner told him that he knew him, gave him all possible Assurances of his Service and Friendship and entreated him to accept of his House where he might lye hid more securely than in the Mines; and in his transport of Compassion and Kindness promis'd him to cause his Friends and Vassals to take up Arms in his Defence if the *Danes* should attempt to offer Violence to him in his House. *Gustavus* accepted these Offers with a great deal of Joy, and at first liv'd with him as if he had no other design than to avoid the pursuit of his Enemy's, but at the same time employ'd himself in getting Information of the strength of the Province, and in finding out the Inclinations of the Inhabitants of the new Government.

His Landlord told him the *Dalcarlians* suffer'd the *Danish* Tyranny with great Impatience, that they publickly murmur'd at certain Taxes that *Christiern* had impos'd on 'em, that which tho small in reality appear'd excessive and intolerable because they were new; and that the People detested the King of *Denmark's* Cruelty: He added that he doubted not but the *Peasants* would Revolt of themselves, if the *Danes* continu'd to infringe their Priviledges; afterwards he boasted of the Strength of *Dalecanlia* with an Exaggeration that is usual in those that would make their Country be valu'd: He told him that that Province alone was able to raise twenty thousand 'Men, that all the *Peasants* were born Souldiers, and by the help of their Mountains cou'd stop and defeat all *Christiern's* Forces; this discourse being several

1520. ral times repeated induc'd *Gustavus* to Resolve to Attempt to make the Province Revolt, which he discover'd to his Landlord, and Conjur'd him to Assist in it, he represented to him that the Kingdom was Involv'd in the greatest Calamity's; that neither the Faith of Treaty's, nor the Submission and Obedience of the People could bound or satisfy the bloody Inclinations of *Christiern*, that especially it seem'd that this barbarous King had Sworn the Death of all the *Swedish* Nobility, that the Massacre of *Stockholm* was but a Prelude to the Cruelty and Outrages which his Troops Exercis'd in the Provinces, that the News was daily brought of the barbarous Murther of some Gentlemen or other, that it was more generous and a surer way to prevent and surprize the *Danes* than Cowardly to wait till they Invaded the Province and Massacred the People in their own Houses.

But this Gentleman terrifi'd with the Danger of the Enterprize, upon apprehension of the Formidable Power of the *Danes*, declin'd being concern'd in it, *Where are* (said he to *Gustavus*) *the Forces necessary for carrying on so great a Design, and what Army have you to Oppose the Enemies Troops, which seem hitherto to have had some regard to our Priviledges, but will outrageously over-run the whole Province upon the first Motion we shall make?*

It seem'd as if Fear made this Gentleman forget what he had just before told him of the Strength of his Province and the Inclinations of it's Inhabitants; for he sought new Reasons to overthrow the former, and to oblige *Gustavus* to take other Measures; [he enlarg'd with much heat upon the Politick Considerations, not so much indeed out of Affection to his Person as to justify that it was not for want of Courage and Zeal

1520.

Zeal for his Country that he declin'd engaging in his Designs. But perceiving that *Gustavus* constantly persever'd in his Resolution to take up Arms and Publickly to declare against the *Danes*, he advis'd him to defer, at least for some time the Execution of his Enterprize, he told him that perhaps he might meet with a lucky Opportunity when the whole Province might of it's self be dispos'd to Revolt, that the *Peasants* had little regard to the Interest of the Gentry, whom they always look'd upon as severe Masters, that tho' they seem'd to pity the Fate of the Lords and Senators who perish'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*, they had never hitherto discovered any Inclination to Revenge their Death upon their Murtherers; but that the least Attempt of the *Danes* to violate the Privileges of the People wou'd infallibly occasion a general Revolt; and that he was perswaded the *Danish* Army wou'd march to *Dalecarlia* as soon as they had compleated the ruine of the rest of the Kingdom. That then the *Peasants* wou'd be oblig'd to take up Arms in their own Defence; that he was resolv'd to let others begin the Revolt, and wou'd neither envy the Glory nor Danger of so rash an undertaking. He conjur'd him to wait patiently at his House till the People shou'd appear in Arms; insinuating that wherever the Revolt shou'd begin, the leading men of the Party wou'd always be ready to yield him that submission which they ow'd to his birth and merit; And concluded with advising him not to ruin so generous design by a preposterous haste in the execution of it; least, instead of becoming the Avenger and Deliverer of his Countrey, he shou'd only furnish the *Danes* with a new pretext to compleat the Destruction of the Nation.

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Gustavus was too judicious and resolute to be either deceiv'd or convinc'd by his Landlord's Arguments; but tho' he was sensible that his pretended Caution and Policy was rather the effect of his Fear than Prudence, he cou'd not be offended at the Weakness of a man whom he look'd upon as an object of compassion. He was so far from suspecting that he was a secret Well-wisher to the *Danish* Interest, or that he was capable of betraying his Guest, that he did him the justice to believe the sincerity of his Affection to his Countrey: but at the same time he perceiv'd that the difficulty of the Attempt deterr'd him from engaging in it. And therefore instead of reproaching him with Cowardice and Pusillanimity, he contented himself with conjuring him to keep the secret with which he had entrusted him; and resolv'd upon a speedy departure to free his timorous Landlord of the Trouble and Uneasiness which he might suffer upon his account. He set out alone, and in the night, to avoid suspicion, and after several days Journey thro' the Woods arriv'd at the seat of another Gentleman, call'd *Peterfon*, whom he knew in the Army, and who, he hop'd wou'd receive and embrace his Proposals with more Courage and Resolution.

Peterfon receiv'd him with all the marks of an obliging Civility; and entertain'd him with that respect and submission which is usally so agreeable to great Persons when they are under a Cloud. He seem'd to be more sensibly afflicted with his misfortunes than *Gustavus* himself: he exclaim'd against the Tyranny of the *Danes*; and cheerfully embrac'd the first proposal which *Gustavus* made to him, some days after his arrival, to form a Party, and engage all his Vassals and Followers in the Design.

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Gustavus was extremely glad that he had at last found a man who was not afraid to draw his sword in the defence of his Countrey; and endeavor'd by all the most winning Expressions of Kindness, and by the sure prospect of a suitable Recompence to confirm him in so generous a Resolution. *Peterfon* answer'd him with repeated assurances of an inviolable Fidelity: he nam'd the Gentlemen and the chief Persons among the Peasants whom he hop'd to engage in the Attempt: and some days after he went privately from his house, in order, as he pretended, to put the design in Execution.

But under the specious pretext of a zealous Affection to *Gustavus*, the treacherous *Dalecarlian* was contriving his Ruine. The hope of making his Court to the new King, and the Expectation of a large reward, made him resolve to sacrifice his Honor to his Ambition, and to violate the most sacred Laws of Hospitality by betraying his Illustrious Guest. In pursuance of that base Resolution he went straight to one of King *Christiern's* Officers, and inform'd him that *Gustavus* lay conceal'd at his House. The *Danish* Officer march'd thither immediately at the head of a Party of Soldiers: he invest'd the House, and took possession of the Principal Gate which *Peterfon* deliver'd up to him. He concluded that he had done his Master a very important and acceptable piece of service, by securing his most terrible Enemy. But he had the mortification to find that he had taken a great deal of pains to no purpose: For *Gustavus* had made his Escape the Night before, and even ow'd his Preservation to the Wife of the Traitor that design'd to betray him. She was prompted by Pity, and perhaps by a more tender Passion, to disco-

1520. discover her Husband's Plot, and not only sent *Gustavus* away in the Night, but order'd a Servant in whom she plac'd a more than ordinary Confidence to carry him to the House of a Curate, who was one of her Friends. Thus by the Kindness and Discretion of that generous Lady, and by the Secrecy of her faithful Servant, *Gustavus* escap'd the Snare that was laid for him, and avoided the Pursuit of his Enemies, who cou'd neither discover the Occasion of his Flight, nor the place whither he retir'd.

The Curate receiv'd him with all the Civility and Respect which he ow'd to his Birth, and to the Recommendation of the Person that entrusted him with so important a Secret. He was a sincere lover of his Country, and did not think himself oblig'd to follow the Maxims of the Clergy, since he had no design to raise his Fortune by aspiring to higher Preferment. He assur'd *Gustavus* of an inviolable Secrecy, and least the Place of his abode shou'd be discover'd by the Infidelity, or Indiscretion of the Servant that brought him thither, he carry'd him to his Church, and hid him in a Place that was wholly at his Disposal, and of which he alone kept the Keys.

He visited him every Day, and by degrees began to feel a secret and resistless Inclination to love and esteem him; which was the usual Effect of the Presence and Conversation of that young Lord. Nor did the generous Curate content himself with expressing his Affection to *Gustavus's* Person; he approv'd his Resolution, and encourag'd him to undertake the great Attempt, assuring him that he wou'd employ all his Interest in the Village, and engage all his Acquaintances in other Places, to carry on the Design with the utmost Vigor and Diligence. But at the
same

same time he acknowledg'd that he cou'd neither advise him to desire the Assistance, nor rely upon the Fidelity of the *Dalecarlian* Gentlemen. 1720.

He inform'd him that the Nobility and Gentry of that Province, contented themselves with a secure Enjoyment of their Estates, and the independent Authority they assum'd in their inaccessible Mountains; that they neither thought themselves concern'd in the Motions and Revolutions of the Court, nor regarded the public Interest of the Nation; that they were seldom willing, and sometimes unable to make their Vassals take up Arms; and that they wou'd hardly be perswaded to engage in a War, since it either depriv'd 'em of their principal Riches, which consisted in the Number of their Followers, or made the *Peasants* less tractable after their Return, and more apt to revolt against their Masters. And therefore he concluded, that 'twou'd be his best and safest Method, to apply himself immediately to the *Peasants*, assuring him that he might expect a more vigorous and effectual Assistance from 'em, if they shou'd take up Arms, and declare for him of their own accord, than if the Villages were only engag'd by the Authority of their respective Lords.

After they had consulted together about the most proper Expedients, to put their Design in Execution, they agreed that 'twou'd be highly conducive to the Success of the intended Enterprize, to prepossess the minds of the *Peasants*, and prepare 'em for an Insurrection, by giving out that the *Danes* were just ready to enter into the Province to levy new Taxes and Impositions. The Curate undertook to spread the Report, and assur'd *Gustavus* that he wou'd shortly make it the Publick News of the Country, by the joint

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1520. Assistance of the rest of the Curates in that District, who for the most part were either his Relations or Correspondents. Afterwards he advis'd him to go to *Mora*, a populous Diocese or Parish, about Twelve Swedish Leagues in Compass; where every Year during the *Christmass-Holy-days* there was an extraordinary Concourse of *Peasants*, from all the neighboring Villages. He told him that he cou'd neither expect nor desire a more favorable Opportunity to propose his Design to the *Peasants*, who were never bolder, nor more easily perswaded to revolt than in such Public Assemblies, where they have a full View of their Numbers and Strength. And in the meantime he promis'd to secure and engage the principal and leading Persons that he might not be in any Danger, tho' the Croud shou'd reject his Proposals.

In pursuance of the Curate's advice, *Gustavus* went to *Mora* on the day appointed, where he found the *Peasants* already acquainted with his design to make 'em a visit, and expecting with impatience to see a Man of whose merit and valor they had receiv'd so advantageous a Character, one that was equally illustrious both for his Birth and Courage, and had acquir'd more Glory by *Christiern's* hatred than by the Favor of *Steno*. He laid aside his usual Habit, and took care that his Dress shou'd be suitable to his Quality, to engage the attention of the People, who are apt to be dazzl'd with the external marks of Grandeur. Afterwards he appear'd in the Assembly with a certain Noble Fierceness in his Air, which was somewhat allay'd and soften'd by a mixture of Tenderness and Grief for the Death of his Father and all the rest of the Senate. And that Majestic sorrow, which the

the admiring Multitude observ'd in his Countenance and actions, inspir'd 'em at the same time with a submissive respect and a tender and affectionate Compassion.

After he had entertain'd 'em with a general but lively description of the deplorable and almost hopeless condition of their native Countrey; he represented to 'em, with a pathetic and moving Eloquence, that the Senators and principal Lords of the Kingdom were Barbarously Massacred by *Christern's* Order; that by the same Prince's Command the Magistrates of *Stockholm* were put to Death and the greatest part of the Citizens Murder'd in their Houses; that afterwards he dispers'd his Army into the several Provinces, that they might the sooner compleat the Destruction of the Kingdom; that he was resolv'd to secure his Authority by the Death of all those, whether Noble, or Ignoble, who were either able or willing to undertake the Defence of their Country; that he was particularly incens'd against the *Dalecarlians*, whose Valor and Courage had made him tremble so often during the Reign of the late Administrator; that consequently they had all the reason in the World to expect the most inhumane Treatment from a treacherous and cruel Prince, that wou'd never forgive 'em so long as he dreaded their Bravery; that under pretext of putting his Army into Winter-Quarters, he was actually sending his Troops to disarm 'em; that they wou'd quickly be expos'd to the Fury of enrag'd Soldiers; that their Lives and Liberty wou'd be at the Disposal of their insolent and merciless Enemies; and that the only way to prevent their impending Ruine, was to resolve upon a vigorous and seasonable Resistance. That the *Dalecarlians* had always
look'd

1520. look'd upon *Liberty*, as a dearer and more valuable Blessing than *Life*; that the Eyes of the whole Nation were fixt upon 'em in so critical a Juncture; that the World expected to see a convincing Proof, that they inherited the Bravery of their Heroical Ancestors, and the noble Resolution with which those Illustrious Patriots had always oppos'd the pretended Authority of Tyrannical Usurpers; that he was ready to sacrifice his Life and Fortune in the Defence of their Liberty; that his Friends and all true *Swedes*, would join in so glorious an Attempt; that besides he had receiv'd positive Assurances of a considerable Reinforcement of the ancient Allies of *Sweden*, but supposing that their Forces were not equal in number to those of the *Danes*, Revenge and Self-preservation would inspire 'em with a generous Fury, which would easily supply that Defect; and that for his part, he would rather chuse to die, with his Sword in his hand, than to preserve his Life by a base Submission to a perfidious and cruel Enemy.

The *Dalecarlians* answer'd this Discourse with Shouts and Exclamations, threatening to exeaure their just Revenge upon *Christiern*, and the *Danish* Nation: One would have thought that this had been the first time they heard of the Massacre of *Stockholm*; the Discourse and Presence of *Gustavus*, had made so deep an Impression of Grief and Resentment upon their Minds. They swore to revenge the Death of their Country-men, and immediately resolv'd to disown *Christiern's* Authority, and to destroy all the *Danes* they shou'd meet, without Mercy. Not but that some of these *Peasants* were at first inclin'd to oppose this Revolt, under the Pretext of communicating their Designs to the other Villages; either because they

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they were gain'd by the *Danes*, or upon a politic Account were afraid of exasperating a potent and victorious Prince. But the enrag'd Multitude rejected this cowardly Motion with indignation, so that the most violent, and those that declar'd for the War, were hearken'd to with a general Applause. Thus they unanimously took up Arms, and entreated *Gustavus* to command 'em, being charm'd with his graceful Mien, and admiring the Largeness of his Stature, and the strong Constitution of his Body.


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But nothing confirm'd 'em more in the Resolution they had taken to follow that young Lord, with a full assurance, than an observation made by the ancient Inhabitants of the Village, that the North-wind continu'd to blow incessantly while he made his Speech to 'em. This Accident among those superstitious People, was look'd upon as an infallible Sign of prosperous Success; and therefore without any further Deliberation, imagining that the matter could be no longer deferr'd without opposing the Orders of Heaven, which had so manifestly declar'd in favour of *Gustavus*; they immediately form'd a Body of four hundred Men, and out of that Number chose sixteen of the handfomest and best shap'd Men that were descended of the principal Families, whom they presented to *Gustavus*, to attend upon his Person, as Life guards, and to serve as a Mark or Badge of the Authority, which they had so lately conferr'd upon him.

Gustavus resolving to take advantage of their Heat and Eagerness, lead 'em directly against the Governour of the Province; for 'twas his interest to prevent that Officer, and to make him incapable of opposing the Revolt of the other Villages: In pursuance of that Resolution, he divided

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1520.  vided his Troop into several Bands, the better to conceal his March and Design, and under Cover of the Night and the Woods, arriv'd at the Foot of the Castle, with the *Dalecarlians*, who march'd thither secretly by different Roads. The Darknes of the Night, and the Surprize of so unexpected an Attack, favour'd his Attempt, so that the Castle was taken by *Scalads*, some *Danish* Soldiers that compos'd the Governour's Guard, and the most part of his Domestick Servants, who stood in his Defence were immediately sacrific'd to the Rage of the *Dalecarlians*; and *Gustavus* had much ado to rescue the Governour, who by Imprisonment suffer'd for his Imprudence in presuming to maintain a Post in a conquer'd Country, and amidst so fierce a Nation, without a Garrison sufficient for the security of his Person, and Dignity. *Gustavus* permitted his Soldiers to plunder the Governour's Apartment, and several *Danish* Merchants were treated almost after the same manner, who since *Christiern's* new Government came to trade in that Province; so that their richest Stuffs became a Prey to the *Dalecarlian Peasants*, who dress'd themselves with 'em after ther odd Fashion. They also kill'd the Officers that were employ'd in levying the new Taxes, which *Christiern* had impos'd. *Gustavus* seem'd to take no notice of their Proceedings, and perhaps was not offended at these disorders, which serv'd only to make the breach between the *Dalecarlians* and *Danes* wider, and their mutual Hatred more irreconcilable.

Tho' this Enterprize was not very considerable in it self, it tended to confirm the *Peasants* in their good Opinion of *Gustavus*, and they gave him Commendations so much the more willingly, because they took him for a Witness of the Courage

1520.



rage and Bravery they shew'd on this Occasion. The Report and Success of this Expedition, within a few dayes caus'd almost the whole Province to declare in his Favour, for the *Peasants* came flocking from their Villages to joyn his Forces, some by reason of their eager and impatient desire to be avenged on the *Danes*; while others were excited by the hope of getting Booty, or by their natural Inclination to undertake bold and desperate Enterprizes.

Many *Swedish* Gentlemen, and among others *Olai*, *Lawrence Erici*, *Fredage* and *Jonas of Nederby*, who were Outlaw'd by *Christiern*, and had fled for Refuge to that Province, repair'd to his Army as it were to a common Sanctuary. He appointed 'em in the Quality of Officers, to command these Tumultuary Forces who usually fought with greater Impetuosity than Order. Afterward he travers'd with extraordinary Diligence, *Helsingland*, *Medelpad'a*, *Angermania*, *Gestrucia* and *Bothnia*, caus'd all these small Provinces to Revolt which are for the most part destitute of considerable Towns, and secur'd 'em by the good Order he took in fortifying the Passages of the Mountains, which are the Principal Forts of those Countries.

His Army was daily encreas'd in his march by the concurrence of the *Peasants*, who came over to him in Crowds, and oftentimes in spite of their Respective Lords: He abolish'd the Taxes which *Christiern* had laid upon the People, and establish'd Commissaries to receive the ordinary Contributions, which he appropriated for the subsistence of his Forces. Afterwards he dispatch'd private Commissaries thro' the whole Kingdom, to dispose the Nobility and *Peasants* to appear in Arms as soon as he should enter into their Provinces. He

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1520. also gain'd by secret Negotiations the greater part of the *Swedish* Officers that serv'd in *Norbys* Fleet or in the *Vice-Roy's* Army: He left no means unessay'd that might serve to augment his Forces and diminish those of his Enemy, and did not make Preparations to enter into the Heart of the Kingdom, till he thought himself almost as sure of the Fidelity of all the *Swedes* that remain'd in the Army of that Prelate, as of the Zeal of the *Dalecarlians*.

The *Vice-Roy* made it his principal and almost only care to heap up Money which he spent in gratifying his Voluptuousness; he aspir'd only to this Dignity in hopes of finding means to Pillage those People whom his Master design'd to Weaken and Ruin, and he would never have undertaken the Administration of the Government, if he had foreseen that he shou'd have had to do with other Enemies then disarmed People, that were not able to defend themselves; The Revolt of the *Dalecarlians* was a very Surprizing and Mortifying piece of News to him; the *Danish* Forces that were left in the Kingdom were very much weaken'd for want of Discipline and by Desertion; he suspected the Fidelity of the *Swedes* who had declar'd for him or were employ'd in his Army; nor did he place much Confidence in the Assistance of the Auxiliary and Foreign Troops, who for the most part in Civil-Wars are always ready to change their Masters, when they meet with more advantageous Proposals. The Valour of *Gustavus* was formidable to him, he dreaded the Courage and Resentment of that Young Lord; but he was yet more afraid of *Christiern's* Indignation, as being a Prince whose Displeasure was extremely terrible, and who usually punish'd the Unfortunate, with as much severity as the Guilty.

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He dispatch'd a Courier to that Prince to give him an Account of the Revolt of the Northern Provinces, and at the same time recall'd those Troops that were dispers'd in different parts of the Kingdom. The *Danes* obey'd their Orders, tho not without a secret Reluctancy to leave those Places, where they enrich'd themselves at the People's cost, and committed all manner of Disorders with Impunity. But the greater part of the Auxiliary Forces refus'd to take the Field under pretext of the want of their Pay. They made themselves Masters of the Towns and Castles, where they were in Garrison, and shut themselves up in those Places, not so much to defend and keep 'em for the King of *Denmark*, as on purpose to retain 'em as Pledges for the payment of their Arrears; and to obtain more advantageous Terms from the Victorious Party.

It was with no small Trouble and Vexation that *Christiern* heard of the Transactions in *Sweden*; he did not find himself in a condition to go into that Kingdom, and cou'd not spare the Forces he had in *Denmark*. The whole Realm was full of Disaffected Persons, for that Prince who was grown more cruel since the Massacre at *Stockholm* observ'd no Measures with his Subjects; he indifferently exercis'd his Authority on the Lives and Estates of the *Danes*, without any respect to the Dignity of the Persons, or to the Laws and Privileges of the Country; he had caus'd several Gentlemen to be put to death without any Formality, and on very weak Surmises, and he had no less offended the Bishops and the whole body of the Clergy, by the Praises he publick'y bestow'd on *Luther*, who under colour of blaming the Abuses that were committed in *Germany* in the publication of Indulgences, openly Condemn'd the Wealth

1520. Wealth, which the Bishops enjoy'd, and the Temporal Power they assum'd.

The Court of *Rome* usually employ'd the *Augustine Fryars* to publish Indulgences in *Saxony*, by which they reap'd no small profit, and which procur'd 'em a great Authority in that Country. The *Jacobins* under the Pontificate of *Leo* the X. got this Commission from 'em: These *Monks* to shew their Zeal in this new employment, and perhaps to inhanche the income of their Mission, cry'd up in their Sermons the vertues and efficacy of Indulgences, in which they us'd certain Expressions that were not at all agreeable either to the design of the Church, or to the intent of the Bull that Authoriz'd 'em. Besides, these Collectors led a Life not over Regular; 'tis said they kept their Offices in Taverns, and often spent there in Feasting what was the product of the people's Zeal, and what good mens Devotion made 'em spare even from their necessary occasions.

Martin Luther, of the Order of *St. Austin*, Doctor and Professor in the University of *Witemberg*, pretended to be mov'd with these disorders, but in reality desirous to revenge his Brethren, began in his Sermons to fly out into sharp invectives against the bad use these Collectors made of their Authority. He was a great Scholar and an Eloquent Orator, hasty, daring and headstrong, conceited with his own Learning and Sentiments, and over-fond of that glory which is acquir'd by broaching new Opinions; undaunted, and so obstinate as never to retract what he had once affirm'd. He contented himself at first with preaching against the unedifying manner of bestowing these extraordinary Favours; but exasperated by the Affronts and Threats of the *Jacobins* he looked

ked back as far as the first Original of Indulgences.

He proposed new Doctrines on the Subject of Justification, of Remission of sins, of Penance and Purgatory, and at last spoke against the Pope's Authority, from whence his adversaries derived, the proofs by which they wou'd establish Indulgences.

He taught in his Writings and Preached in his Sermons, that we are justified by Faith alone, that Penance consisted only in a sincere Contrition, and that Confession was but an unprofitable Repetition of our Faults; that to obtain Remission of sins, 'twas sufficient to believe with a lively Faith, that they were forgiven; that Indulgences were neither recommended nor ordained to us for our practices, and that they were equally useless in this World, and in the next; that Purgatory was but a Modern invention contrived by the Monks to cheat People out of their money; that the Mass was no Sacrifice, that it was of no benefit to the dead, that that, and all other Prayers of the Church were to be Read in the vulgar Tongue; and above all that the Holy Sacrament was to be Administred to the Faithful in both kinds.

The Pope allarm'd by this new Doctrine, which seemed to expose the nature and extent of his Power to the censure and examination of every particular Person, thought to stifle so dangerous a Doctrine by condemning *Luther* as a Heretick, and even ordered *Jerom Alexander* his Nuntio to Solicit the Elector of *Saxony* to deliver up the Seditious Monk, that he might punish him as an Enemy to Religion.

Luther to secure himself against the practices of that Court, and to engage the Duke of *Sax-*

1520. *ony* and all Secular Magistrates to protect him, publish'd some new Writings as much in opposition to the Pope's Power as they were favourable to Sovereign Princes; he wrote against the Celibacy of the Priests and the Monarchal vows; he taught that the only vows that were obligatory, were those of Baptism; he inveigh'd against Hierarchy, which he pretended was a Tyrannical Government; he exclaim'd against the corruption of the Court of *Rome*, and against the excessive Riches of the Church; he advis'd in his Books and Sermons all the Sovereign Princes to take possession of the Funds and Revenues of the Bishopricks, Abbys and Monasteries, unless when there was a Sovereignty annexed to the Bishopricks, and in that case, he wou'd have the Bishop marry, and not suffer such Persons, as under the specious pretence of Celibacy ingag'd their Allegiance to a Foreign Power to remain in his Territories; he wou'd have the Monasteries converted into publick Schools and Hospitals, and the great Treasures those Houses enjoy'd to be employ'd partly in maintaining the Preachers, Overseers, and other Officers who should take care of the Poor, and partly by the Prince in supplying the Exigences of the State and the Necessities of his People.

These last Opinions gain'd *Luther* more Followers, than the first Propositions he had advanc'd, on the obscure and crabbed Doctrine of Justification, and of the merit of good Works. Many *German* Princes under colour of this Doctrine, depriv'd the Church of several Lands and Estates which they thought lay convenient for 'em: And the King of *Denmark* after their Example usurp'd part of the Demains of the Archbishop of *Lund*, as if he had already declar'd openly for the new Religion.

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The *Danish* Clergy, to be reveng'd for the Affront they met with under his Reign, and perhaps to dispose People to a Rebellion, gave out a Prophecy of *S. Bridget*, to this effect, That a K. of *Denmark* shou'd be expell'd out of his Kingdom, because of his Barbarity. Every one took Pleasure in applying this to *Christiern*; but he having heard of it, publickly made a Jest of it; telling his Courtiers, That that Bigot, wrote every Morning the Dreams she had had over Night, which she very piously took for Revelations, and affecting to make that Saint the subject of his Mirth, either out of a Spirit of Libertinism, or, which is more probable, to discredit by a seeming Contempt and Derision, a Prediction which whether true or false, might make a dangerous Impression in People's Minds.

However, since by reason of the general Discontent of all his Subjects, he cou'd neither leave *Copenhagen*, nor dismiss his Army, without exposing himself to a Rebellion; he wrote to the Vice-Roy of *Sweden*, commanding him to march with his Army, in order to bring the Rebels to reasonable Terms, and at the same Time he sent word to *Gustavus*, That he wou'd make his Mother and his Sisters to suffer the most cruel Torments; if he understood that he appear'd again at the Head of the Rebels.

Gustavus, despising his Threats, continu'd still to advance with his *Dalecarlians*, putting all the *Danes* he met with to the Sword, and even the *Swedes* who adher'd to them or to the Archbishop; and his Forces increas'd daily, during his March, so that in a short Time, he saw himself at the Head of an Army of above Fifteen thousand Men, all animated with his Courage and Resentment, and resolv'd either to conquer or die. He march'd towards *Westmania*, while the Vice-

1520. Vice-Roy, on the other Side, at the Head of his Army, advanc'd to the River *Brunebec*, with a Design to oppose his Passage, and fight him, if he should attempt to pass the River.

No sooner was he to come the Banks of the River, but he saw *Gustavus* appear on the other Side, at the Head of his Horse, and ready to force his Passage. He was so daunted at the Sight of so resolute an Enemy, that he retir'd with much Precipitation, and basely left a Post, where he might have fought with Advantage, either because he was diffident of his own Capacity, in giving the necessary Orders, and Commanding during the Heat and Tumult of the Action, or because he durst not trust the *Swedes*, who were very numerous in his Army. He retir'd at first into the Castle of *Westeras*, which was not far off; but not thinking himself safe while he was so near *Gustavus*, and fearing a Siege if he should continue, he left the best part of his Troops to defend that Place, and, returning to *Stockholm*, shut himself up in the Castle of that City, where he began to indulge his Luxury, without suffering any Business to be brought before him, as tho' by his Retreat, and keeping out all bad News, he could keep out the Enemy, or put a Stop to their Progress.

Gustavus took all the Advantage which the Vice-Roy's Retreat afforded him; he laid a Bridge over the River, his Forces pass'd it without any Opposition, and continu'd their March towards *Westeras*, the Capital City of *Westmania*. It was equally dangerous for him to leave behind him a place of that importance, or to spend too much time in besieging it: Most of his Troops were compos'd of Countrymen, that were very unfit for this way of Fighting; he had neither

Powder

Powder nor Cannon; the Place was defended by a numerous Garrison, little differing from an Army, and the Length and Difficulty of a Siege might have discourag'd the *Dalecarlians*, and ruin'd his Designs. 1520.

To rid himself of this Trouble, he resolv'd to attempt that by a bold Action and a Stratagem, which he foresaw was impracticable according to the ordinary Rules of the Art of War: He detach'd all his Cavalry under the Command of *Lawrence Erici*, his Lieutenant, with Orders to advance behind the Woods, as near as he cou'd to the City Gates; he left *Olai* another of his Lieutenants, with the best part of his Foot, behind a Mountain, near the Village *Ballunga*, and having commanded him to follow him slowly, he advanc'd with a Body of Three thousand Men, as if his whole Army had consisted only in that Number.

That Evening he appear'd in Sight of the Place, and immediately retrench'd himself near the Chapel of *S. Olaus*, with all the Care and Diligence of a Man that is afraid of being attacked, and endeavours to avoid an Engagement; which the *Danes* perceiving, and withal seeing the small Number of his Men, send all their Horse to attack him. *Gustavus*, after a small Resistance, maintain'd a running Fight, to get into the Defiles, and insensibly to draw the Enemy among the Body of his Foot, which was advancing to his Assistance: The *Danes*, deceiv'd by this Retreat, which they mistook for the Flight of a routed Enemy, ran disorderly out of *Westeras*, to have a Share in the Victory, thinking to find 'em in Confusion and Disorder, so that none remained in the City but the *Swedish* Forces of their Party, and the *Danes* that were in Garrison in the

1520. the Castle, whom the Governour wou'd not suffer
 to go out.

Gustavus having drawn 'em far enough from the City, to give *Erics* an Opportunity to execute his Orders, made head against the Enemy: He took his Post at the Head of all his Foot, which was now got together, and turning about to his *Dalecarlians*, with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and a dreadful Look, which seem'd to threaten no less than a full Vengeance for his Father's Death; *Remember, my Friends, cry'd he, the Cruelty and Avarice of our Tyrants, and consider that we must either conquer, or prevent an ignominious Slavery by an honourable Death.*

The *Dalecarlians* having answer'd their General's Discourse with repeated Shouts and Acclamations, immediately let fly a shower of Arrows upon the *Danes*, and afterwards broke, with Sword in Hand into the midst of their Battalions. The Ground was quickly cover'd with dead Bodies; and both Parties enrag'd with all the Fury and Obstinacy that usually appear between two neighbouring and hostile Nations, when one of 'em fights to enlarge their Dominions, and the other to recover their Liberty. *Gustavus* seem'd to be every where; and at the same time that he charg'd the Enemies, as the meanest private Centinel in his Army, gave out Orders with that admirable presence of Mind, which is so rare, and yet so necessary on such Occasions. The Fight was obstinately maintain'd for some time by the undaunted Valour of both Parties; but since People that revolt and take up Arms for the recovery of their Liberty, seem always to be inspir'd with a more than ordinary Fury, the *Swedes* made such powerful Efforts, that the *Danes* were forc'd to give Ground, and to endeavour to regain the Walls of *Westeras*. How-

However, they retreated in good Order, and when they were charg'd by the Horse under the Command of *Erics*, who had intercepted their Passage, the Fight was renew'd, and by reason of the unavoidable necessity of Overcoming or Dying, was more furious than before. The *Danes* being attack'd on all sides, and animated with Rage and Despair, fought like Persons who took less care to defend themselves, than to assault their Pursuers, every Man endeavouring to revenge his Death by that of an Enemy. The greatest part of 'em were cut to Pieces, few were taken Prisoners, and the pitiless and bloody *Dalacarlans* put all to the Sword, without giving Quarter; nor were their Officers able to moderate their impetuous Fury.

The Horse, under the Command of *Erics*, pursued the routed Enemy so vigorously, that they enter'd with 'em into *Westerau*, by means of the *Swedes* that belong'd to the Garrison and were in the *Danish* Service, but declar'd for *Gustavus* as soon as they cou'd with safety. These Troops had no sooner enter'd the City, but they disbanded in the Night, and run to plunder the Town with so much eagerness, that their Officers were not able to stop 'em, nor even to find a sufficient number of Soldiers to mount the Guard, and to take such Precautions as were necessary to secure their Conquest. They broke into the Houses of several Merchants that sold Brandy, Wine and strong Waters. And the *Delacarlans*, under the Command of *Gustavus*, being inform'd that their Companions were so well employ'd, left their Colours, and in spite of their Officers run to the Town, to get their share of a Liquor, which affords an enchanting Delight to these Northern People.

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1520. The Governor of the Castle perceiving this Disorder, made a Sally at the Head of his Garrison, to charge the *Swedes*, his Soldiers having first set Fire to several Houses on purpose to increase the Tumult and Confusion : Afterward they enter'd the City with Sword in Hand, and without any opposition kill'd a great number of the *Dalecarlians*, whom they found for the most part Drunk and destitute of Arms and Defence. As soon as *Gustavus* was inform'd of so terrible and unexpected a Disaster, he enter'd the Town, and was enrag'd to see his Soldiers massacred almost in his Presence, without finding any that were able to oppose the Enemies : He commanded *Olai* to raise a Barricadœ in the high Street, and to make Head against the *Danes* with all the Officers and Volunteers that were with him, whilst he himself ran through the City, to put a stop to the Pillage, and to rally his dispers'd Troops, The greater part of his Soldiers sculking in the bottom of the Cellars, and intoxicated with Wine and Brandy, fled almost with equal fear and precipitation from the presence of their General and from their Enemies. But *Gustavus*, accompanied with his Guards, went down himself into the Cellars, stav'd the Vessels, spilt the strong Waters and Brandy, and by this Precaution, which the *Dalecarlians* lookt upon as unjust and cruel, drew them out of these enchanted Places ; at last he beat back the *Danes* into the Castle, tho' rather by his own Presence than by the Assistance of his Soldiers.

Afterwards he caus'd the Governor's Pulse to be felt, to know whether he might be prevail'd with to deliver up the Castle upon Composition; but having found him resolute and unmoveable, he contented himself with blocking up the Fort; he

April 29.

he was not willing to hazard an Attack, which perhaps might discourage his Soldiers; nor to begin a formal Siege, for fear of giving time to the *Danes* to rally. He only order'd Lines of Contravallation to be drawn round the Place, to hinder the Besieg'd from Sallying out, and to cut off all hope of Relief: He first took a Spade to break the Ground, and was immediately imitated by all the Officers of his Army; after which, the Burghers of the Town, mingled with his Soldiers, carry'd on the Work with so much Diligence and Vigor, that in less than two Days they rais'd the Entrenchments in some places above 24 foot high.

Gustavus had no sooner given the necessary Orders to prevent the conveying of Succors into the Place, but he march'd again into the Field; several Lords and Gentlemen, at the Head of their Vassals, met him on the Road, and join'd his Forces; and 70 *Swedish* Officers at once deserted the Vice-roy, and came over to *Gustavus's* Army: These Advantages were lookt upon as the beginning of a great Revolution, and the taking of *Westeras* seem'd to be the Signal agreed upon for the Revolt of the whole Kingdom of *Sweden*. *Arvide*, a considerable Lord in *West-gothland*, *Laurentius Petri* of *Sundermania*, and *Olaus Bonde* of *Nericia*, came to assure him that the Nobility and People of their Provinces, waited only for his presence to take up Arms, and to declare in his Favor; and even those who were either with-held or over-aw'd by the Power and Neighbourhood of the *Danes*, secretly assisted him with Intelligence and Money; the Eyes of all the People were fixt upon him, and his own Merit, with the rigor of the *Danish* Tyranny, procur'd him the good Wishes and Love of the whole *Swedish* Nation.

Gustavus



Gustavus seeing himself at the Head of an Army, and of so potent a Party, resolv'd to undertake several Enterprizes at the same time, that the Fame of his Conquests might draw all the People to his Army, and that the *Danes* might be at Loss where to employ their Troops. He sent back these Lords who come to meet him to their respective Provinces, with Detachments from his Army, which he gave them to begin the War, and to promote the Revolt and Insurrection of the People. *Arvide*, by his Order, besieg'd the Castle of *Wadestene* in *Ostrogothland*, *Laurentius Petri* the Town of *Nicoping*, and *Olaus Bond, Orrebro*, the Capital of *Nericia*, whilst *Olai* and *Erici* at the same time invested the City of *Upsal*. This Place was large and very populous, but almost destitute of Walls and other Fortifications, except some old Towers on the side of the Archbishoprick. The Archbishop who was Lord of it, had put a Garrison in it, under the Command of a Governor, tho' rather with a design to shew the Inhabitants that he did not forsake them, than in hopes of defending it if it should be attackt: The Soldiers of the Garrison had no sooner perceiv'd the *Dalecarlians* with Sword in hand descending into the Ditch and ready to mount to the Assault, but they abandon'd the Ramparts, after once firing, and left a free passage to the *Dalecarlians*, who enter'd the Town without opposition; and being reform'd by what happen'd to them at the taking of *Westeras*, they pursu'd the *Danes*, without staying to plunder the Houses: The greater part of the Garrison was cut to pieces, and the Governor in endeavoring to escape by Flight, receiv'd a shot with an Arrow, of which he died a few Days after.

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Gustavus having receiv'd information that his Forces were in *Upsal*, repair'd thither with speed. He took care to preserve the Archbishop's Palace and Goods, either to render him suspected to the *Danish* Ministers, or to gain and draw him to his Party. Afterward he sent an Envoy to the Consul of *Lubeck*, to notify to him the happy success of his Arms, and at the same time to put him in mind of the Supplies which he had promis'd him in behalf of the Regency. His Agent represented to that Magistrate, how much 'twas the Interest of that Republick, and of all the other *Hanse-Towns*, that the *Sweden* should be always separated from, and at enmity with *Denmark*; that the Regency of *Lubeck* cou'd never meet with a more favourable opportunity to settle the Affairs of that Kingdom; that *Gustavus* had already made himself Master of several large Provinces, and that he had compleated all these Conquests at the Head of the *Dalecarlians*, but that these Peasants serving for the most part without Pay, were also free from any Tie or Engagement, and that they were not ignorant that those who begin a Revolt, and undertake a War with the greatest eagerness, are usually soonest tir'd; that his Master stood in need of a Fleet to besiege *Stockholm*, and the other Maritim Towns of the Kingdom, as also of some regular Troops to carry on the War; and that this Lord hop'd with the Supplies, within a little while to expel the *Danes* out of the whole Kingdom of *Sweden*.

The Consul of *Lubeck* gave an account of his Demands to the Regency; but these Republicans found that their Interest was chang'd with the fortune of *Gustavus*. The rapid progress of his Conquests, his undaunted Courage and as-

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1520. piring Genius began to disturb 'em, and *Christiern* on the contrary ceas'd to be any longer formidable to 'em by reason of his violent Proceedings with respect to his own Subjects.

But tho' *Gustavus's* Agent made little progress in his Negotiation, he had the good fortune to meet with an old *German* Colonel, nam'd *Stephen de Sassi*, who was one of those Soldiers of Fortune that make a Trade of War, and are always ready to venture their Lives for Gain, without taking any care to enquire into the Justice of the Cause which they engage to defend. *Gustavus's* Envoy treated with him in the name of his Master, and in consideration of a certain Sum agreed upon, a considerable part of which was paid in hand, the Colonel oblig'd himself to Land in *Sweden* before the end of the Month of *August*, at the Head of 1200 Men. *Gustavus's* Agent instantly gave him an account of this Treaty, and receiv'd Orders to continue at *Lubeck* to solicit that Regency to declare in his favour; but he thought fit to acquaint him at the same time, that he was sensible there wou'd not have been so much difficulty in prevailing with these Republicans, if he had not made so quick a progress, and if the success of his Enterprize were more uncertain.

Gustavus had not hitherto met with any Dis-
 July 10. faster, every thing having succeeded beyond his expectation: He was at the Head of a considerable Army, with which he had made himself Master of half the Kingdom, and the rest of *Sweden* waited only for his Presence to declare in his Favour, when in the full career of his Conquest, he saw himself suddenly abandon'd by the greater part of his Forces; for the Peasants begg'd leave of him to be dismiss'd, that they might

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might go and take care of the Harvest in their Provinces. *Gustavus*, notwithstanding the urgent necessity of his Affairs, could not refuse those People who serv'd him voluntarily, and to whom he was also oblig'd for all his Authority; and therefore he consented to their departure, upon the promise they made him to return with a Reinforcement after the Harvest, reserving only for his Guard and for the Defence of the City of *Upsal*, one Company of Horse and six hundred Foot, for the most part *Dalecarlians*, who were resolv'd to follow his Fortune, and never to leave him.

He resided at *Upsal*, which was as it were the Center of his Conquests, from whence he gave out necessary Orders thro' all the Provinces that had declar'd for him, and where his Lieutenants carry'd on the War in his Name: He endeavour'd, at the same time to divide and distract his Enemies by secret Negotiations, till he shou'd be in a condition to reduce 'em by Force.

The Archbishop was more especially formidable to him, by reason of the great number of his Vassals and Followers; for he alone was capable of supporting *Christiern's* Party by the Reputation of his Family, and his Authority over the Clergy. He sent Letters thro' the Provinces, obliging his Relations and Friends to endeavour to retain the People in their Obedience to the King of *Denmark*; so that *Gustavus* met with, in the single Person of that Prelate, a vigilant Enemy, that created him more trouble than all the *Danes* together. However, he made an attempt to draw him off from their Party, and engag'd two Canons of *Upsal*, who imagin'd they had a great Interest with the Archbishop. *Gustavus* publicly granted 'em a Pass, under colour that they

1520. desir'd Leave to Retire to their Metropolitan, and at the same time privately charg'd 'em with a Letter, which was submissive, full of Respect, and proper to flatter the haughty and arrogant Temper of that Prelate. In this Letter he conjur'd him no longer to oppose the Liberty of his Country; and offer'd, with all possible Demonstrations of Sincerity to restore his City of *Upsal*, and his whole Estate, without exacting any other Conditions than to engage in his Party, and to be their Head; assuring him withal, That every one would be ready to obey his Orders with Delight, and that for his own part, he shou'd only reserve to himself the Glory of putting his Advice and Counsels in Execution.

The two Canons being arriv'd at *Stockholm*, deliver'd *Gustavus's* Letter to the Archbishop, and even took the boldness to commend his Moderation, on purpose to feel the Pulse of that Prelate. But the Archbishop rejected the Letter and their Service, with a great deal of Scorn and Indignation; and fearing lest the *Danes* shou'd suspect that he hearken'd to their Proposals, he caus'd the Letter to be immediately carried to the Vice-roy: He also sent to him, at the same Time, the Persons of the two Canons, who were the Bearers of it, and demanded that they shou'd be put to Death as Traytors and Spies.

The Vice-Roy, who knew not how to destroy his Enemies but when he found 'em unarm'd, wou'd have made no great Difficulty to give him this Satisfaction if he had not been afraid of offending the Clergy, who almost alone continu'd to adhere to the Party of the *Danes*: He also perceiv'd that the Archbishop requir'd their Death with so much earnestness, only to take off a Suspicion, which might arise, that he held

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Correspondence with *Gustavus*: Besides that, these Ecclesiastical Persons, terrifi'd with the Danger they had incurr'd, protested to him, They took the Charge of *Gustavus's* Letter, only to obtain a Pass, and the liberty of departing out of a City, which was no longer engag'd in their Party. Afterward they inveigh'd against the Rebellion of that Lord, with an Eloquence that was the effect of their Fear. They promis'd an unviolable Fidelity to King *Christiern*, whom they acknowledged as their lawful Sovereign; and the more effectually to justify themselves, and appease the Anger of the Vice-roy and Archbishop, they told 'em, That the Peasants had abandon'd *Gustavus*, and gave 'em an account of the state of the City, and the Forces of that Lord, which they likewise diminish'd, according to the usual Language of Deserters, on purpose to make their Court, and to obtain a more favourable Treatment.

The Archbishop demanded Troops of the Vice-roy, with which he promis'd to surprize *Gustavus* in *Upsal*, and bring him back Prisoner, or at least to force him to flee once more to the Mountains of *Dalcarlia*. In compliance with his Desire, the Vice-Roy gave him three thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, which was the greatest part of the Garrison of *Stockholm*: The Archbishop march'd, at the Head of these Forces, with so much Diligence and Secrecy, that he was very near seizing on the Person of *Gustavus* in *Upsal*; for he receiv'd Advice of his Designs only 2 Hours before his Arrival, by the means of two *Swedish* Gentlemen, who seem'd still of the Archbishop's Party, but had been gain'd by *Gustavus*; they departed privately, and came with all possible speed to give him notice of the

1520. Danger that threat'n'd him. The City was large and open on all Sides, and the Inhabitants were also well-affected to the Archbishop, who was their Lord, and therefore *Gustavus* did not think fit, with so small a number of Troops, that remain'd under his Command to undertake the Defence of the Place, but instantly caus'd the Infantry to file off toward the Forest of *Nofan*, and put himself in the Rear with his Troop of Horse, and his Guards, to secure their March.

He had scarce got out of the City, when the Archbishop enter'd it, at the Head of all his Forces, and as soon as he was inform'd of *Gustavus's* Departure, he pursu'd him with all his Horse. The *Danes* overtook him at the Ford of *Lately*, where his Infantry, already terrifi'd with a precipitated Retreat, ran away at the sight of the Enemy, and even his Cavalry, tho' retain'd by his Presence, were dismay'd while the whole multitude, press'd forward to gain the Forest. His Squire being mounted on an unruly Horse, and hurry'd away in this Disorder, unhappily fell upon his Master, and threw him backward into the Water, out of which he was immediately rescued by his Guards. But *Gustavus* was so far from being daunted with the Hazard he had run, or discourag'd by the Number of his Enemies, that he rode boldly at the Head of his Guards; and that brave Lord, who was equally remarkable for the grateful height of his Stature and undaunted Courage, sustain'd almost alone the whole Shock of the *Danish* Army, while his Troops were gaining the Forest: As soon as he saw them in Safety, he retir'd in spite of the Multitude of those that charg'd him, having lost in the Encounter only ten or twelve Horse, so that this was all the Advantage that the Archbishop gain'd

gain'd for an Opportunity by which Fortune and the disorder of *Gustavus's* Troops seem'd to assure him an entire Victory.



July 5.

The Danger to which he had been expos'd by the means of this Prelate, serv'd only to revive his Courage and Resentment, so that he form'd a Design to surprize him by way of Retaliation; to which purpose he recall'd part of the Troops, which he had given to *Arwide*, and sent them Orders to lie hid in the Woods on the Road from *Stockholm* to *Upsal*. At the same time he receiv'd the German Troops, commanded by Col. *de Sassi*; and most part of his Friends alarm'd at the Danger he had incur'd on this occasion, repair'd to him with great Diligence; the hatred they bore to *Christiern*, and the fear of falling again under his Power rendring *Gustavus's* Person extremely dear to all the *Swedes*, infomuch that within a few days he found himself Master of a new Army, capable of keeping the Field: He encamp'd near the Castle of *Rimning*, and made an Entrenchment there, as if he had only the same Troops with which he march'd out of *Upsal*. He also took all the necessary Precautions to conceal the Knowledge of his Forces from the Archbishop, and to promote the Confidence and Presumption with which he was possess'd, by reason of the small Advantage he had gain'd.

This Prelate being puff'd up with the Pride of having put *Gustavus* to Flight, set forward to return to *Stockholm*, as that prudent Lord had foreseen, and march'd with the same State as if he led his Enemy Prisoner with him: But his Troops fell into the Ambush; for *Arwide's* Infantry that lay hid in the Wood suddenly appear'd, and fell on 'em with terrible Shouts. The Archbishop, who feared no Enemies where *Gustavus* was not present,

1520. present, being surpriz'd with an unexpected At-
 tack, determin'd to re-enter into *Upsal*; but he
 met with that Lord on the Road, who had thrown
 himself, during his March, between the City and
 his Forces: Whereupon the *Danes* were struck
 with Terror, and saw themselves beset both in
 Front and Rear; some of 'em endeavour'd to ad-
 vance toward *Stockholm*, and others return'd to-
 wards *Upsal*: Every one in this Disorder ima-
 gin'd the Opposition and Danger to be less where
 he was not, yet met with the Enemy and Death
 whithersoever they went. Thus the greater part
 of the *Danes* were cut to pieces, and the rest pro-
 vided for their Safety by Flight. The Archbi-
 shop, who had boasted that he wou'd take *Gusta-
 vus* Prisoner, could scarce bring back the sixth
 part of the Forces with which he was entrusted
 by the Vice Roy. In the mean while *Gustavus*
 re-enter'd into *Upsal* at the Head of his victorious
 Army, and perceiving that no Agreement cou'd
 be any longer made with the Archbishop, caus'd
 a Tower to be demolish'd, which serv'd both as
 an Ornament and a Fort in the Archbishop's
 Quarter, to hinder the *Danes* from lodging in it
 for the future.

The Doctrin of *Luther* began to be introduc'd
 about this time into *Sweden*, and in *Gustavus's*
 Army. The *German* Soldiers first brought it thi-
 ther, but their Religion consisted only in their
 Licentiousness and the Contempt with which they
 treated the Monks, and all sorts of Religious Or-
 ders. Afterwards the two Brothers *Laurentius*
 and *Olau Petri*, of the Province of *Nericia* pro-
 pagated this Doctrin with very great Success.
 They had both studied under *Luther* in the Uni-
 versity of *Wuttemberg*; they brought both his Do-
 ctrin and Writings into *Sweden*, and publish'd them
 with

with all the Zeal that is usually shewn in the divulging of new Opinions, especially when 'tis believ'd to be necessary that old Errors should be confuted, and the Truth establish'd.

Laurentius Petri, who was naturally timorous, discover'd his Sentiments with much reservedness and Precaution; he contented himself only with dispersing *Luther's* Books in private, and discouraging about them with his particular Friends; but *Olaus*, who was bold and eloquent, publickly preach'd *Lutheranism* in the Church of *Stregnez*, whereof he was Canon and Protonotary: He inveigh'd in his Sermons against the ill use the Clergy and Monks made of their Power and Riches, and was chearfully heard by the People, who were not ignorant that the Ambition of the Bishops had caus'd all the Calamities of *Sweden*.

Afterward he held Conferences, posted up *Theses* in *Upsal*, disputed every Day in the University of that City, and finally left no means unattempted to spread abroad his Master's Doctrine, during the Disorders and Commotions of the Civil War; a Time always favourable for the Change or establishment of new Religions. These Opinions were readily embrac'd by the Youth, and he gain'd the most part of the Professors and Scholars of the University, who esteem'd it their honor to become the Ministers and Publishers of that Doctrine, and every one was desirous to be instructed in it. Thus *Lutheranism* pass'd insensibly from the School into the Houses of private Persons, and the Families were divided; every one taking part according to his Inclination; while some maintain'd the *Roman* Catholick Religion, because it was that of their Fathers, and some adher'd to it purely upon the score of it's Antiquity; others complain'd of the Abuses which the Covetousness

of

1520. of the Clergy had introduc'd into the Administration of the Sacraments, and attack'd those Abuses with so much the more Heat, as they found it their Interest to discredit 'em. The very Woman engag'd in these Disputes, some out of Vanity and others thro' an excessive Fear of not being in the true way to Salvation; and every one set up for a Judge of Controversies. The remaining part of the Bishops of *Sweden*, after the Massacre of *Stockholm*, being more mindful of *Gustavus's* Conquests than of their Episcopal Functions in their respective Diocesses, took no notice of the Progress of *Lutheranism*. *Gustavus*, for his part was desirous to conceal his Knowledge of these Opinions, whether he look'd upon them as the Effect of some Disputes among idle Divines; or perhaps he was not displeas'd, that in a Kingdom, in which the Bishops had so far oppos'd his Designs, there should arise, even from amidst the Clergy, a Party that made Profession of condemning the Temporal Power, and great Revenues of those Prelates.

Gustavus after the Flight of the Archbishop reunited all his Forces, which were divided into different small Bodies, and march'd directly to *Stockholm*. He did not design as yet to undertake the Siege, as not having a Fleet to block up the Harbour; but he only caus'd his Army to draw near, hoping that the Consternation of the *Danes*, upon the Defeat of the Archbishop might give occasion to the Friends, whom he had in the Place to attempt somewhat in his behalf. The Vice-Roy and Archbishop having little assurance of the Fidelity of the Burghers; and being afraid to fall into the Hands of *Gustavus*, resolv'd to make their Escape whilst the Sea continu'd open. They conferr'd the Government of the Place upon an ancient Officer, who commanded

manded the Garrison, and retir'd with Precipitation into *Denmark*, giving out that they only went to hasten the Succours which were expected daily from *Christiern*. And 'tis certain that he us'd his utmost endeavours to send an Army into *Sweden*, but the *Danes* terrify'd with the Massacre of *Stockholm*, detested both his Enterprize and Government, and refus'd to grant him any Kind of Supplies, under pretence that they were already exhausted by the long continuance of the War.

Gustavus was over-joy'd to hear that the two Prelates were departed for *Denmark*; since the Vice-Roy seem'd to leave him the Kingdom by his Flight, and the Retreat of the Archbishop free'd him from an Enemy that was always formidable by reason of his Authority over the Clergy; but the Governour puts things into so good Order in *Stockholm*, that the Inhabitants were not able to undertake any Attempt in *Gustavus's* Favour: at the same time that Lord receiv'd a Courtier from *Arvide*, who brought him word that he made himself Master of the Castles of *Wadestene*, *Hora*, and *Scening* in *Ostrogothland*; that at the very first Approach of his Forces, the Towns of *Lincoping*, *Norcoping*, and *Sudercoping* had taken up Arms, and expell'd the *Danes*; and that he was marching to besiege the Castle of *Stegenburg*, in which Colonel *Bernard de Milen* a German by Nation kept Garrison with his Regiment.

The great Joy occasion'd by such prosperous Successes was allay'd with the sad News, which *Gustavus* receiv'd of the deplorable Death of his Mother and Sister. For King *Christiern* exasperated at the Progress of his Victories, of which he was certainly assur'd by the flight of the Vice-

1520. Vice-Roy and Archbishop, caus'd these Ladies to be wrapp'd up in a Sack, and cast into the Sea, and gave Orders at the same time to the *Danish* Officers, who commanded in those Places, which still remain'd under his Dominion in *Sweden*, to destroy all the *Swedes* that were still among his Troops, as so many Traitors hir'd by his Enemy; which orders were put in Execution with a great deal of Inhumanity, especially by the Governour of *Abo*, the Capital City of *Finland*, who put to death many *Finlandish* Gentlemen of his Government.

Gustavus being extremely afflicted at the Loss of his Mother, and Sister; publish'd a Proclamation in his Army, as also in all the Places where his Authority was acknowledged, that all the *Danes* that cou'd be taken shou'd be put to death without Mercy; hoping that these violent Proceedings wou'd render *Christiern*, more odious to his own Subjects. He left the greater part of his Forces before *Stockholm*, to form a Blockado under the Command of Colonel *De Sassi* and *Fradage*, and afterwards march'd into *Ostrothland*, which was almost wholly gain'd by the prudent Conduct, and the Valour of *Arvide*, and had lately declar'd against the *Danes*. *Gustavus* put Garrisons into all the Towns that had adher'd and own'd his Authority, caus'd the old Fortifications to be carefully Repair'd, order'd new ones to be made in all places where they were necessary, and left 'em under the command of Governours that were zealous Defenders of their Country, and for the most part had been out-law'd by *Christiern*. All the Noble Men of the Province appear'd before him to offer their Service, and to congratulate him upon the happy Success of his Arms. The Bishop of *Lincoping* alone was disturb'd

sturb'd and wavering, notwithstanding so speedy 1520.
and private a Revolution, and shut himself up
in his Castle of *Munkebode*, not daring as yet to
declare for *Gustavus*.

This was the same Prelate who had fortunately escap'd the Massacre of *Stockholm*; so that the risk that he run on this occasion, made him look upon all the Parties that oppos'd *Christiern's* Interest as so many dangerous Precipices; neither could all *Gustavus's* Conquests revive his Spirits, as being Persuaded that he could never be able to maintain a War against so potent a Monarch as the King of *Denmark*, and expecting every moment to see this Prince re-enter *Sweden* at the head of a formidable Army, to treat *Gustavus* and his Followers, as he had done *Eric Vasa* his Father and the rest of the Senators. He exhorted the People both by Word and Writing, not to be concern'd in the Commotions of the State, tho' the only Reason why he made so great a noise, was that he might have a sufficient Number of Witnesses, to depose, that he had constantly persever'd in supporting the interest of *Denmark*.

Gustavus incens'd at the Weakness and Cowardice of that Prelate, who in the middle of a Province, whereof he was Master, durst not declare against the *Danes*, march'd toward his Castle at the head of part of his Troops, with a design to oblige him to explain himself, and to drive him out of his hold, if after the ill Treatment he had receiv'd from *Christiern*, he still persisted in taking his part. The Bishop being inform'd of the displeasure and march of *Gustavus*, went out to meet him with his principal Clergy, and to appease his Anger omitted neither commendations nor protestations of his Fidelity. It was indeed
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1520. the interest of *Gustavus* to make himself Master of the Bishop's Castle, which was fortified, but he durst not put a Garrison into it, lest even those of his own party shou'd blame him for violating the priviledges of the Clergy in the Person of a Bishop, that cou'd not be accus'd of appearing in Arms, and who had voluntarily open'd the Gates of his Castle. *Gustavus* contented himself with giving him a severe reprimand, and the Bishop thought himself very happy to purchase his Liberty at the rate of some Oaths of Fidelity, which he was fully resolv'd to keep no longer than he shou'd be over-aw'd by the presence and arms of *Gustavus*.

That victorious Lord having establish'd so good order throughout all his Conquests solemnly call'd a Meeting or Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom at *Wadestene*, to give some form to the Government, and more especially to cause his own Authority to be confirm'd and acknowledg'd, which as yet he held only by the right of his Sword, and the Election of certain *Peasants* of *Dalecarlia*. Few of the Deputies of the Provinces were present in this Assembly; for the murder of the principal Nobility, the difference of parties, the disorders of the War, the marching of Troops, and even the fear of some new Revolutions in Favour of King *Christiern* hinder'd the greatest part of the Deputies from appearing. The Convention was scarce compos'd of any other Persons than military Officers and many Gentlemen, who were outlaw'd by *Christiern* and resort'd to *Gustavus's* Army as it were to a Sanctuary or Place of Refuge; so that the whole Body of the State was in a manner comprehended in the Army. *Gustavus* represented to them with a graceful meen and a charming Eloquence, the necessity of proceeding

to

to the Election of an Administrator, who might be capable of giving the last fatal blow to the *Danish* Tyranny; and that the Forces of that Nation now in the Kingdom, were rather Prisoners then Masters in the places they possess'd, that afterwards he told them with a great deal of generosity that he did not intend that his Services should constrain their choice, assuring them that he would be the first that should acknowledg that person among them whom they should think fit to Elect, and that in whatsoever rank they plac'd him, he should always esteem himself happy in Fighting and Exposing his Life for the defence of his Country.

The Estates answer'd his Harangue with the Applause and Applauding Acclamations that were due to his Valour and Moderation: All the Gentlemen and Officers in the Convention were inseparably united to his Person and Fortune; they subsisted only by his Benefits, and there was no safety for them in *Sweden* except in his Army: The whole Assembly earnestly intreated him to take upon himself the charge of the Government and they were desirous even to confer upon him the quality of *King*, to engage him more effectually to defend his Country; but he positively refus'd that Title, and contented himself after the Example of his Predecessors with the Quality of *Administrator*, as being more Modest and more Agreeable to the State of his Fortune and the present posture of the Kingdom. Then all the Members of the Estates took an Oath of Allegiance to him, and he was acknowledg'd and proclaim'd with a loud Voice in the Assembly of the Estates, and in the Army, as the *General Governour and Sovereign Administrator of Sweden*.

The End of the First Part.

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Christiern II. King of Denmark, his good and bad qualities, 31 he aspires to the Throne of Sweden, *ibid.* what he did in order to get possession of it, *ibid.* & sequ. he is offended at the Mission of the Legate Arcemboldi and why, 50 he endeavours to make 51

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use of him to prosecute his designs against Sweden with greater success, 51 & sequ. he communicates his designs to him, 52 he tells him that he was assur'd of the Castles of Stockholm and Nicoping, *ibid.* he gives private orders to his Admiral to affront upon some pretence the first Swedish Vessels that he should meet, 57 Pope Leo X. publishes a Bull of Excommunication against the Kingdom of Sweden and intrusts Christiern King of Denmark with the execution of it, 69 that Prince having receiv'd the Bull from the Pope, enters Sweden at the head of his Army, and immediately destroyed the Country with Fire and Sword 70 to give a colour of Justice and a shew of Religion to these Cruelties, he caus'd the Popes Bull to be posted up in all places where he committed these outrages, *ibid.* he besiegeth Stockholm, *ibid.* Christiern is obstinately resolv'd to continue the Siege contrary to the advice of his Generals, 71 he raiseth the Siege for fear of being hemm'd in between the Town and the Swedish Army, *ib.* his Rear Guard is beat and routed, *ibid.* the whole Baggage of his Army is taken, *ibid.* and three hundred of his Men are made Prisoners; *ibid.* the wind prov'd so contrary that he staid three Months without being able to set Sail out of the Road of Stockholm, *ibid.* the miserable condition which his Fleet was reduc'd to for want of Water and Provision, *ibid.* Christiern sends to propose a Truce for some days to the Administrator, *ibid.* it was accepted and for what reason, 73 he forms a design to make himself Master of the Administrators Person by treachery, *ibid.* after what manner, *ibid.* Christiern being disappointed of his design against the Administrator, he endeavours that it may succeed better with respect to Gustavus and six other Lords in the Swedish Army. 74 he proposes an interview in the City of Stockholm, *ib.* and offers to appear there in Person, provided Gustavus were given as a Hostage with six other noble men to be chosen at his pleasure *ibid.* Gustavus and the other Lords being come to salute the King Christiern caus'd them to be arrested and disarm'd contrary to the publick Faith and the Law of Nations, 75 he strives to bring over Gustavus to his party, but to no purpose, 76 he privately commands him to be dispatch'd *ibid.* upon the remonstrance of a Danish Officer, he contents himself with a confining him to the Castle of Copenhagen *ibid.* Christiern takes a resolution to make so great efforts the next Campaign, as to be able entirely to oppress the Administrator, 78 he gives orders to his Officers to seize on the Treasure of the Legate Arcemboldi, and for what reason *ibid.* he caus'd the Legate himself to be arrest'd with all his effects, 78. 79 he makes new Levies, 79 he raiseth extraordinary Taxes in his Kingdom without the knowledge or advice of the States, *ibid.* he obtains four thousand Foot of Francis I. King of France, 80 he makes Oeno Crumpein General of his Forces, not daring to leave Copenhagen, *ibid.* this General gives him notice of the success

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success of his Arms, 87 Christiern appears much concern'd at the news, and why *ibid.* he fears, lest Otho should make himself Master in his name of the King Kingdom of Sweden, *ibid.* or least he should suffer himself to be prevail'd upon by the enemies to take their part, *ib.* he writes Letters full of gratitude to Otho, *ib.* he sends him word to keep him in awe that he intended to march in Person to Sweden in the Spring at the head of a numerous Army, *ib.* he sends several Vessels laden with Salt which was scarce and very dear in Sweden, and appoints it to be distributed gratis to the principal inhabitants of every Village, *ib.* Christiern being inform'd of the flight of Gustavus, dispatcheth orders to General Otho to cause him to be apprehended, 90 he enters Sweden in the Spring, 95 he is receiv'd and entertain'd by the Archbishop and the other Prelates with extraordinary marks of joy, *ib.* he solemnly ratifieth the Treaty of Upsal, *ib.* he summons the Administrators Relict, who had shut up her self in Stockholm, and the Governour of Calmar to surrender these two places, *ib.* he buys the last of these places, *ibid.* he gives the Government of it to Severinus de Norby, *ib.* he carrieth on the siege of Stockholm with all imaginable vigour, 96 he caus'd the Administrator's widow to be summon'd a second time, 97 she is forc'd to capitulate, 98 he is receiv'd into the City at the head of four thousand men, whom he leaves in Garrison, *ibid.* he calls a Meeting of the Estates of Sweden on the fourth of November, and appoints on the same day the Ceremony of his Coronation, 98 he leaves the command of his Forces to Severinus de Norby, 99 he intrusts the Archbishop of Upsal with the Government of the State, *ibid.* he sends General Otho to Denmark, whom he suspected by reason of his victories, he returns to Denmark upon the advice he had received that his presence was necessary at Copenhagen, *ibid.* the Senate and principal Lords of the Kingdom murmur against the augmentation of Christiern's authority, *ibid.* he takes a Resolution for the security of his conquest, to destroy the whole Senate of Sweden, and the principal Noble-men of the Realm, 102 he resolves for this purpose to make use of the pretences of excommunication. and to revive the affair of the Archbishop of Upsal, 103 he disbands the French Forces which he had in his Service, *ibid.* the bad usage he shew'd 'em, he makes preparations to repass into Sweden, in order to be present at the Assembly of the States, which he had call'd together to assist at the ceremony of his Coronation, *ibid.* he causeth himself to be attended with two Ecclesiastical Senators, 104 for what reason, *ibid.* he imbarks for Sweden accompanied with the Queen his Wife, *ibid.* the Ambassador of the Emperor Charles V. brings him the Order of the Golden Fleece, and congratulates him upon the happy success of all his enterprizes, 105 he defers the receiving of the Golden Fleece to the day of his Coronation, *ibid.* he takes measures in secret with the Archbishop of Upsal to put to death their common enemies, 106 he is acknowledg'd in the Assembly

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as the Lawful Sovereign Prince of Sweden, *ibid.* he invites the Senators and Swedish Nobility to a magnificent Feast to express joy for his accession to the Crown, *ibid.* he affects a very courteous familiar deportment, *ibid.* Trollius Archbishop of Upsal demands justice of of him against the Senators that had depos'd him. 107 Christiern seemingly declines to take any cognizance of the matter, and refers it to Theodore Archbishop of Lund and the Bishop of Oldensee, *ibid.* he causes the Administrator's Widow, and all the other Lords who had been invited to the Feast which he made in the Castle of Stockholm, to be arrested, 108 he sends executioners to them to warn 'em to prepare for death. 109 On the eight day of Nov. 1520. he puts to death by the hand of the common Hang-man a great number of Senators as well Ecclesiastical as Secular; the Counsels and Magistrates of Stockholm, and ninety four Lords, who had been imprisoned in the Castle. 109. 110 The Cruelty and Inhumanity of Christiern, *ib.* he abandons Stockholm to the Fury of his Soldiers. 111 A certain Gentleman for bewailing the misfortunes of his Country, by Christiern's order bound to a Stake, his privy parts cut off, his belly ript up, and his heart pull'd out, *ibid.* he commands the Body of the Administrator to be dig'd out of the ground, *ibid.* he gives Orders to drown that Prince's widow, *ibid.* his Covetousness obligeth him to change his resolution, and he condemns her to perpetual imprisonment, 113 he alters the Form of the Government, 114 he oppresseth the People with Taxes, *ibid.* he threatens the Peasants to cut off one of their Feet, and one of their Hands, 114 he constitutes Theodore Archbishop of Lund Vice Roy in his absence, *ibid.* he nominates Theodore and the Bishop of Oldensee to the rich Bishopricks of Stregne and Scara, *ibid.* he sets a price upon the head of Gustavus, *ibid.* he is stiled the Northern Nero, many Lords are Massacred by his Order in their Castles, *ibid.* he is surprized with the news of the commotions in Sweden, 133 he dares not go in Person to Sweden, nor send his Forces out of Denmark, *ibid.* he equally dreads both the Nobility and Clergy, *ibid.* for what reason, *ibid.* he usurps part of the goods of the Archbishop of Lund; 136 the application of a Prophecy of St. Bridget to Christiern, 137 he writes to the Vice-Roy of Sweden to order his Army to march to reduce the Mutineers to their Obedience, *ibid.* he threatens Gustavus to put his Mother and Sister to death with Torments, if he should appear at the head of the Rebels, 109 he causeth these two Princesses to be sewed up in a sack and cast into the Sea, 154 he commands the Danish Officers, residing in those places which remain'd in his possession in Sweden, to destroy all the Swedes that were in his Troops *ibid.*

Christina, the Relict of Prince Steno Administrator of Sweden, retires into the Citadel of Stockholm after the death of her Husband. 83 Christiern causeth her to be Summon'd to Surrender this Place to him, 95 her resolute Answer, 96 she is oblig'd to

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come before Theodore Archbishop of Lunden, to give an Account of her Husband's Conduct, 107 she appears with a modest and undaunted Countenance, *ibid.* she is Arrested, 108 Christiern gives Orders to drown her, 112 Admiral Norby saves her Life. *ibid.* After what manner Christiern causeth this Princess to be convey'd into Denmark, and condemneth her to perpetual Imprisonment.

Christopher of Bavaria King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, 22 his Reign and Death.

The Clergy of Sweden, *ibid.* they alone had larger possessions than the King, and even than all the other Estates of the Realm together. *ibid.* The Bishops were for the most part Temporal Lords of their Episcopal Cities; *ibid.* every one of them in their respective Diocesses had made themselves Masters of the goods of all Ecclesiastical persons that dyed intestate. *ibid.* They enjoy'd the Right of Fines or Mulcts and Confiscations which antiently belong'd to the Prince Demeans, *ibid.* they had acquir'd by pious Foundations and Legacies, many Mannours belonging to the Crown, 5 The Clergy were allow'd to Augment their estates by donations, but never to diminish them by sales and alienations, *ibid.* what the Bishops were wont to exact of the King before they would acknowledg him for their Sovereign, *ibid.* they caus'd their Castles to be fortifi'd, and kept Garisons in them, *ibid.* they took up Arms against their Neighbours, and sometimes even against their King, 5, 6 the new Authority which Queen Margaret granted to them. 19 Canutson K. of Sweden made an attempt to bring down their exorbitant Power, 24 the Bishops treated him as an Heretick, *ibid.* they sent for Christiern King of Denmark, and caus'd him to be proclaimed King of Sweden, 25 & sequ. Canutson is re-establish'd on the Throne, but the quality and title of a King are only left to him, the Bishops retaining the sole Authority

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Eric after Margaret obtains the three Northern, Crowns by right of Succession, 19 he is driven out of his Dominion by whom and for what reason. 20 & sequ.
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Fredage a Gentleman proscrib'd by Christiern
French. Christiern obtains French Troops to the number of four thousand Men, 80 the valour and bravery of the French, 80 they contribute much to the reducing of Sweden, under the obedience of Christiern, ibid. the unkind usage they receiv'd from that Prince, 103 he refuses to furnish 'em with Provisions to pay 'em their arrears, or to provide Vessels to carry them back to their own Country ibid.

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Gothland-west over-run by the Troops of Otho General of the Army of Christiern II. King of Denmark 80 Gustavus his Age, Extraction, Employment and excellent Endowments, 50 he makes a proposal to furnish the Peasants with Fire-Armes, because they usually made use only of Bows and Arrows, 60 he defeats the Danes, 62 Christiern forms a design to seize on his Person, 74 he proposes an interview with the Administrator in the City of Stockholm, and for the security of his Person, demands Gustavus as a Hostage, ibid Gustavus appears on the shore, and the Dantsh Admiral desires him to enter into his Shallop to go and salute the King, 75 he is conducted to Christiern, who causes him to be Arrested and Disarmed; ibid. Christiern not being able to gain him to his party, gives private Orders to take away his Life, 76 afterward he is prevail'd with by the Remonstrances of an Officer to keep him Prisoner in the Castle of Copenhagen, ibid. Eric Banner a Danish Lord his near kinsman desires him of the King upon his parole, and obtains his request, 76 upon what conditions, 77 Gustavus having receiv'd information of the Calamities of his native Country, and of the death of the Administrator, is extremely troubled, 8 his Captivity tho' mitigated by the kindness of Banner, becomes insupportable to him, ibid he resolves

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resolves to procure his Liberty by any means whatsoever, ibid. he disguises himself in the habit of a Peasant, ibid. he heirs himself to a Merchant of lower Saxony to drive his Oxen, 89 Banner being inform'd of his escape pursues and overtakes him at Lubeck, ibid. Gustavus gives him satisfaction, 90 he desires succours of the Government of Lubeck, ibid. the Regency is afraid to declare against the King of Denmark who had a powerful Fleet, 91 Nicolas Gems principal Consul of Lubeck assures Gustavus at his departure from Stockoolm, that if he could form a party capable of keeping the Field, the Government of that City would declare in his favour, ibid. Gustavus Lands near Calmar, and enters into the Town, he ibid. discovers himself to the Governour, and to the principal Officers of the Garrison, consisting for the most part of Germans. 92 These Foreigners seeing him destitute of Troops and Attendants, threaten either to kill him or to deliver him up to Christiern, if he would not retire, ibid. the Danes send out several parties to apprehend him, ibid. he assumes the habit of a Peasant, and passes in a Cart laden with Straw, thro' all the quarters of the Army, ibid. His Kindred and Friends are unwilling to hold any correspondence with him; the Peasants refuse to follow him. ibid. Being abandoned of all, he takes a Resolution to attempt, even at the hazard of his Life, to get alone into Stockholm, 94 the Danes endeavour to surprize him, and in their search came but an hour too late to seize him, ibid. he resolves to lie hid in the Convent of the Carthusians of Gryphysholm which was founded by his Ancestors. ibid. These Monke refuse to admit him, ibid. he retires to the House of a Peasant of the Province of Sudermania, an antient Domestick Servant of his Family, and absconds there for some months ibid. He is certifi'd by the same Domestick of the death of his Father and all the Senators, as also of the Massacre of Stockholm. 116 Christiern sets a price upon the head of Gustavus, 114 Gustavus retires to the Mountains of Dalecarlia in the habit of a Peasant, accompanied with a Country fellow who serv'd him for a Guide, 117 his Guide robs him of all his money, which he had provided for his subsistence, 118 he loses his way in the Mountains, ibid. to get a Livelihood, he is forc'd to hire himself as a Labourer to work in the Copper-mines, ibid. he is discover'd by the Lord of the Mannour, who entertains him in his House, ibid. &c. this Lord boasts to him of the strength and number of his Vassals, 119 Gustavus upon this report resolves to raise a general Insurrection in that Province, 120 he declares his mind to the Lord, who excuseth himself upon the account of certain politick considerations, 121 and advises him to deferr his enterprize for some time. ibid. After many days wandering up and down in the Woods, he arrives at the seat of another Gentleman nam'd Peterson. 122 This Gentleman receives him with all possible

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suble demonstrations of affection and kindness, and nevertheless goes about to betray him, 123 Peterson's Wife gives notice to Gustavus of her Husband's Treachery, ibid. she lets him out of her House in the night, and causes him to be safely conducted by a faithful Servant to a Curate of her acquaintance, 124 he is entertain'd very kindly by the Curate, ib. who advises him not to have any recourse to, nor any longer to trust the Nobility of Dalecarlia, 125 he represents to him that it would be most expedient to address himself directly to the Peasants, ibid. the means which they agree upon, to dispose the People to revolt. ibid. Gustavus appears at Mora, 126 he makes a speech in an Assembly. 127 'Tis resolv'd to submit no longer to the Danish yoke, 128 they take up Arms, and intreat Gustavus to command 'em. ib. An observation which finally engag'd these Country people to follow Gustavus, with an intire confidence, 129 he forms a Body of four hundred Men, and leads them directly against the Governour of the Province. ibid. The Castle is storm'd by Scaladeo, and the whole Garrison put to the Sword, except the Governour who is taken Prisoner. 130 The same and good success of this Expedition caus'd almost the whole Province to declare in his favour, 131 many Swedish Gentlemen out-law'd by Christiern, betake themselves to his Army, ibid. he procures a general defection in Hellingland, Medelpadia, Angermania, Geftricia and Bothnia, ibid. he increases his Army in his march by the Concurrence of Peasants that flock'd to him from all parts, ibid. he abolishes the Impositions and Taxes which Christiern had laid upon them, ibid. he sends Emissaries throughout the whole Kingdom of Sweden to dispose the Nobility and common People to take up Arms as soon as he should enter into their Provinces, he gains by secret Negotiations the greatest part of the Swedish Officers, who serv'd on board Admiral Norby's Fleet, or in the Vice-Roy's Troops, 132 the Vice-Roy musters up in a little time an Army of above fifteen thousand Men, 137 he appears on the banks of the River Brunebec at the head of his Horse, with a Resolution to force his passage over it, ibid. Gustavus causes a Bridge to be laid over the same River, and transports all his Troops, 138 the Stratagem he us'd to make himself Master of Westeras, 139 he routs the Danes, 196, &c. he takes the City of Westeras. 141 An unlucky circumstance which had like to have ruin'd his Army, ibid. by what means he prevented it, 141. 142 Gustavus gives Order to draw lines of Circumvallation round the Castle of Westeras, 142 he takes the field, A great number of Lords and Gentlemen at the head of their Vassals joyn his Troops. 143 Seventy Swedish Officers at once desert from the Vice-Roy's party, and pass over into his Army. ib. Arwide, Laurentius Petri and Olavs Bonde Lords of great note come to assure him that the Nobility and People of their Province waited only for his presence to appear in Arms, ib.

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he takes the City of Upsal by storm, 144 he carefully preserves the Archbishop's Palace and Goods, *ibid.* he sends an account to the Government of Lubeck of the success of his Arms, and demands supplies of them *ibid.* his Agent concludes a Treaty at Lubeck with Stephen de Saffi a German Colonel, by which that Officer was oblig'd to land in Sweden in three months at the head of twelve hundred Men. 145 The Dalecarlians desire leave to be dismiss'd in order to take care of their Harvest, 146 he writes a very respectful Letter to the Archbishop of Upsal to endeavour to bring him off from the Danish party, 147 he causes it to be deliver'd to him by two Canons of Upsal, who imagin'd that they had a great interest with the Archbishop, *ib.* The Prelate rejects the Letter, and demands Troops of the Vice-Roy to seize upon Gustavus's Person in Upsal, 148 he was very near surprizing him. *ibid.* Gustavus retires from Upsal with precipitation, 149 his infantry being terrifi'd left the main body of his Army, *ibid.* his Gentleman being hurry'd on with an unruly Horse fell upon him, and threw him backward in the water, *ibid.* he sustains as it were alone the whole shock of the Danish Forces, *ibid.* he forms a design to surprize the Archbishop, *ibid.* he receives the German Troops commanded by Colonel Saffi, 150 he defeats the Archbishop's Army, and re-enters into Upsal with his victorious Troops, *ibid.* he marches directly to Stockholm, 153 he obliges the Vice-Roy and the Archbishop to leave the City, he is inform'd by a Courtier of the reducing of the Castles of Wadeene, Hora, and Sceninc in Ostro-Gothland, 154 the Towns of Lincoping, Norcoping and Sudercoping, at the first approach of his Forces take up Arms and expel the Danes. *ibid.* Gustavus receives the sad news of the death of his Mother and Sister, who were cast into the Sea wrapt up in a Sack, by the command of Christiern, *ib.* he give orders cut in pieces all the Danes that could be taken, *ibid.* he marches to Ostro-Gothland, putting Garrisons and Governours into the Towns that adher'd to his party, *ibid.* he advances to besiege the Bishop of Lincoping in his Castle. 156 That Prelate opens his Gates and goes out to meet him with his principal Clergy, *ib.* he calls a Meeting of the Estates of the Realm at Wadeene, few Deputies of the Provinces are present, and for what reason. *ibid.* The Assembly earnestly entreats him to take upon himself the Administration of the Government, 157 they are also desirous to confer on him the quality of King, *ibid.* he positively refuses this Title, and contents himself with that of Administrator, *ib.* he is acknowledg'd by the Estates and in the Army, as General Governour, and Sovereign Administrator of Sweden

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Laurentius and Olaus Petri propagate his Doctrin in Sweden, 151 Olaus Petri publicly Preaches it in the Cathedral Church at Stregnes, *ibid.* He prevails upon the Professors and Scholars of the University to profess the same Doctrin, 152 The Bishops of Sweden neglect to take notice of the rise and progress of Lutheranism *ibid.*

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THE
HISTORY
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Revolutions in Sweden.

PART II.

GUSTAVUS having dismiss'd the Assembly, began to give a full career to his vast Designs, and to follow the motions of that noble Ardor which prompted him to extend his Conquests, and achieve some new Exploits that might answer the hope and expectation of the *Swedes*. The success of his Arms, the glory of his Victories, the number and valor of his Troops, and the zeal and affection of the People, inspir'd him with Thoughts suitable to his Courage and Ambition, and flatter'd him with the alluring Prospect of mounting the Throne of *Sweden*, as soon as he shou'd compleat the great Work in which he was engag'd, by the entire Expulsion of the *Danes* out of the Kingdom.

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1521.


1521.



He was not ignorant of the extreme Difficulty of the Task he had undertaken; the *Danes* were still Masters of the *Capital City*, and of several *Provinces*, and he wanted Money to carry on the War. But for his comfort he perceiv'd that his Adversary labour'd under the same Inconveniency; and his *Wants* were in a manner supply'd by the *Poverty* of his Enemies. This Encouragement was sufficient to keep him from despairing of Success, but he was not willing to build his Hope on so uncertain a Foundation. He either sold or mortgag'd all his Patrimonial Lands, to make new Levies; wisely considering, that he only parted with an Estate, of which an unfortunate Battle might quickly deprive him, and that a Victory wou'd make up all his Losses.

He sent some of the Forces, which he had newly Levy'd, to *Arwide*, with Orders to carry on the Siege of *Stegeburgh* with vigor. Colonel *de Saffi* and *Fredage* belieg'd *Stockholm*, which they had block'd up for some time. The *Administrator* sent another Body of his Men to *Finland* under the Command of *Arwide's* Brother, and kept a flying Camp with himself, for the security of his Person, and the execution of his private Designs. He ran thro' all the Provinces with an incredible Diligence; and it may be said, in some sense, that he was present in all his Armies at once. He projected every Enterprize, and both contriv'd and executed all the Attempts that were made. He pass'd frequently thro' the Enemies Country, and even under the Canon of their Garisons, without being assaulted; the secrecy of his Designs, and the quickness of his Marches, securing him from their Attacks. He went to *Smaland* in Person, and made himself Master of that Province, almost in less time than wou'd seem necessary to travel thro' it.

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ber 18.

From thence he march'd to *Stegeburgh*, which was still belieg'd by *Arwide*, and defended with great Courage

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Courage and Resolution by the Governor. The whole Fortune of that Officer consisted in the Government of this Place ; and he endeavour'd to preserve it as his Estate and Patrimony, rather than out of Zeal and Fidelity to his Master's Interest. *Gustavus* soon discover'd his weak side, and concluding that he might be more easily *Brib'd* than *Forc'd*, made some advantageous Proposals to him, which quickly produc'd the desir'd effect. The Governor was not able to resist the Presence and Bounty of that young Conqueror ; he not only surrender'd the Place, but enter'd into his late Enemy's Service, and the whole Garison follow'd his Example. So powerfully was he charm'd with that Prince's Valour and Generosity, and allur'd with the Pensions and Preferment which he bestow'd upon him.

After the Reduction of *Stegeburgh*, *Gustavus* made himself Master of the Castles and Forts of *Nicoping* and *Tynelso* ; from whence he march'd to *Westmania*, and took the Castle of *Westeras*, which by a long Blockade was reduc'd to a scarcity of Provisions, and cou'd not expect Relief. However, he granted honourable Terms to the Governor, besides an advantageous Composition in private : For 'twas one of his Maxims, *That a Conqueror can never pay too dear a price for the time he saves* ; and tho' he was full of Courage and undaunted Bravery, 'twas his usual custom to court his Enemies before he attack'd 'em, and only to force those who would not be gain'd. He had the Art of preparing his Designs for execution by private Negotiations, and was admirably well acquainted with all the mysterious Secrets of the most refin'd Politicks.

Assoon as he had made himself Master of the Castle of *Westeras*, he march'd towards *Stockholm* at the Head of his Army, resolving to Command in Person at the Siege, and to compleat the Conquest of the Kingdom by the Reduction of the Capital City.

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But about two days Journey from the Town, he met with the unwelcome News of the Defeat of his two Officers that lay before it, and of the raising of the Siege. King *Christiern* had made a desperate Effort to prevent the loss of *Sweden*; he had fitted out a potent Fleet, mann'd with a considerable number of Land Forces, and Admiral *Norbi*, who express'd a great deal of Zeal and Forwardness on this Occasion, was intrusted with the Conduct of the Expedition.

That Lord could not forgive *Gustavus* for getting the start of him, and baulking the secret Designs he had form'd against *Sweden*; and *Christiern* imagin'd that his extream Aversion and Spite against that Prince, which he did not endeavour to dissemble, proceeded merely from his Loyalty and Zeal for the Interest of his Sovereign. He had us'd a great deal of Diligence, and even spent a great deal of Money in fitting out the Fleet: His Friends accompanied him in the Expedition, the Troops that he commanded were absolutely devoted to him, and he still entertain'd some flattering Hopes, that if he could beat *Gustavus*, 'twou'd not be impossible to obtain the Dignity of *Administrator*, and afterwards to mount the Throne, by improving the violent Hatred with which the *Swedes* were possess'd, against the Tyranny of his Master.

1522.

Gustavus had no Fleet at Sea to dispute the passage of the *Danes*; their Admiral enter'd without any opposition into the Port of *Stockholm*, and as soon as his Troops were landed, made a Sally with all his Forces to surprize the Besiegers. There was a lucky Combination of several Circumstances that seem'd to favour the execution of his Designs; for besides the Weakness of his Enemies at Sea, there was a fatal misunderstanding betwixt the two Officers that commanded the Siege. The *German* Colonel, who was an old and Weather beaten Soldier, claim'd the supreme Command, as an Honour due to his Skill and

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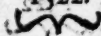
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and Experience : But the *Swedish* Officer was too proud and confident of his own Courage, and too jealous of the Honour of his Nation, to submit to a Man whom he did not think braver than himself. After this unhappy Difference they lodg'd their Troops in separate Quarters, without the least Communication between one another : They acted on all Occasions like declar'd Enemies, and were more suspicious of each other, than of the *Danish* Garrison, whom they despised both for their Weakness and the smallness of their Numbers.

Norbi taking the advantage of so favourable an Opportunity, made a Sally upon *Fredage's* Quarters; and the *Swedes* were so ill prepar'd to receive him, that they abandon'd their Lines, and endeavour'd to save themselves by a shameful Flight. The *German* Colonel was so far from assisting 'em, that he remain'd an unconcern'd Spectator of the Action, and ev'n rejoyc'd at their Misfortune: But he was soon made sensible of his Imprudence, for his Camp was attack'd so vigorously by the *Danish* Admiral, that his Soldiers were not able to endure so furious a Shock, and fled after a slight Resistance. Thus *Norbi* had the good Fortune to succeed in his first Attempt; and that he might not lose the Fruit of so important a Victory, he order'd the Soldiers of the Garrison to fill up the Lines, and demolish all the Enemies Works, while the rest of the Troops were in pursuit of the routed Besiegers.

Yet the Shame and Confusion of this Defeat, was greater than the Loss they sustain'd; for the greatest part of the *Swedish* Troops rally'd again under their respective Officers. The two Commanders endeavour'd reciprocally to cast the Blame of this Disaster upon one another. Their common Misfortune exasperated the Fury of their Aversion, and widen'd the Breach that was between 'em : But *Gustavus* was too deeply concern'd in the fatal Consequences of

1522.



that unhappy Division, to suffer it to make a further Progress. He march'd with all possible haste to the Army, and by his Presence depriv'd 'em both of that Power and Superiority, which was the main Cause of their Hatred and Jealousie. Immediately after he gave Orders to his Troops to repair to their former Posts, and renew'd the Siege, notwithstanding the great sharpness of the Winter, that the News of his Arrival might prevent, or at least lessen the Noise of the Defeat of his Army.

Norbi was not much alarm'd at this second Attempt, which was rather a *Blockade* than a *Siege*. He left a strong Garrison in the Town, and being Master of the Sea set sail for *Finland*, where he put to Flight *Arvide's* Brother, whom *Gustavus* had sent to reduce that Province.

The *Administrator* perceiving that he cou'd not hope to succeed in his Designs, nor to make himself Master of *Stockholm*, without a *Fleet* to block up the Port, dispatch'd his Secretary *Signard de Holten* to hasten the Succors which that *Republic* had promised him, and to obtain a sufficient Number both of *Men* and *Ships* to carry on the War. This *Envoy* was more favourably receiv'd than his Predecessor; for the Magistrates of that City had heard of the Action at *Stockholm*, and believ'd the Accounts that were industriously spread abroad by the *Danes*, who gave out that the *Administrator's* Army was totally defeated. And therefore since 'twas their Interest to prevent the utter Ruin of that Prince, as well as to curb the Progress of his Victories, they were soon perswaded to grant the Succors which he demanded, thinking by that means to perpetuate the War betwixt the Northern Crowns. They oblig'd themselves to send forthwith Eighteen Men of War, with Four thousand Soldiers, furnish'd with one Year's Pay: But at the same time they resolv'd to make the *Administrator* pay dear for the Assistance they gave him.

They

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They propos'd, That he shou'd enter into an Obligation in the Name and Behalf of the Estates of *Sweden*, to pay to their City for the Charge of the Fleet, the Sum of *Sixty thousand Marks* of Silver; That till the Kingdom shou'd be in a Condition to advance so considerable a Sum, the Merchants of *Lubeck*, Trading to *Sweden*, shou'd be exempted from all Customs and Duties, for the Goods which they shou'd either Export or Import; That no other Nation shou'd be permitted to Trade in the Kingdom; That the *Administrator* shou'd not conclude a Peace or Truce with *Denmark*, without the Consent of the *Regency*; and, That in case they should be attack'd by *Christiern*, he shou'd be obliged to invade *Denmark* with *Twenty thousand Men*, to make a Diversion.

The greatest part of these Conditions seem'd very hard to *Gustavus*: For he perceiv'd that the execution of this Treaty wou'd ruin the Trade of the Kingdom, and quite destroy the Revenue of the Crown, which at that time consist'd almost wholly in the Customs that were laid upon the Importation and Exportation of Goods. But on the other Hand, there was an absolute Necessity for a Fleet to carry on the Siege of *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and other Maritime Places. He had no Money either to build or buy Ships, and was sensible, that as long as *Christiern* shou'd remain Master of the Sea, and consequently of these Ports, he might easily prolong the War, by pouring in fresh Forces into the Kingdom. Thus the *Administrator* was constrain'd to conclude a Treaty, which wou'd have been shameful and dishonourable, if it had not been necessary: *Signard de Holten* sign'd it by his Order, and the Fleet set Sail some time after. *Frederick Brum* was Admiral of the Navy, and the Land Forces were commanded by *John Stammel*.

The Fleet arriv'd safely in the Port of *Sudercoping* on *Whitson-Eve*, and the Troops that were to serve

1522. a Shoar were landed. As soon as the *Administrator* received the News of their Arrival, he sent *Bernard de Milen*, who was their Country-man, to administer the Oath of Fidelity to 'em: But they refused obstinately to obey or acknowledge that Officer, tho' he was a Native of *Germany*. They begg'd earnestly that they might see *Gustavus*; and the greatest part of 'em protested, that they would never have left their Country, if they had not expected to serve under a Prince whose Valour was celebrated through all *Germany*.

To satisfy these Foreign Auxiliaries, the *Administrator* was obliged to take a Journey to *Suderköping*. He charm'd 'em with the gracefulness of his Mien, and gain'd their Hearts with the winning Eloquence of his Discourse. They took the usual Oath of Fidelity for the time their Superiors had engag'd 'em in his Service, with all imaginable Expressions of Joy and Chearfulness; and resolv'd to follow his Fortune with as ardent a Zeal, as if they had been born his Subjects.

He made use of these Troops to reinforce the Army that lay before *Stockholm*, ordering 'em to encamp on the side next the Sea, over against the Port, which was the weakest part of the Camp. At the same time he form'd a Squadron of as many Ships as he could find, and gave the Command of it to *Eric Fleming*, a *Finlandish* Lord, with Orders to Cruise before the Harbor, that all Hope of Relief might be cut off from the Besieged.

Fleming lying in the height of *Stockholm*, discover'd a Squadron of *Danish* Ships making their way directly towards the Harbor. This was a considerable Convoy, commanded by the Governor of *Abo*, whom *Norbi* had sent to re-victual *Stockholm*; for it seems he had not yet receiv'd Advice that the *Regency* of *Lubeck* had declar'd for the *Swedes*, and that their Fleet kept the Sea. Immediately *Fleming* gave Orders to all his Ships to stand in behind the

Cape

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
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Cape of *Stockholm*; and in the mean time the Danish Commodore with the Ships under his Command, advanced with a favourable Gale, having order'd two light Frigats to sail before the Fleet, at an equal distance, to make Discoveries.

As soon as the first of these Frigats had doubled the Cape, she was surrounded and taken by *Fleming*, who took out all the Ship's Company, and mann'd her with *Swedish* Seamen and Soldiers. Then, without losing time, he went on Board his Prize, and put out to Sea to meet the other Frigat, which was making the best of her way, without the least suspicion of what had happen'd. As soon as the Commodore of the Convoy, who was on Board that Vessel, perceiv'd the first Frigat making towards him, he came in his Boat to learn the Cause of her return; but instead of receiving the Advice he expected, he found himself in the Hands of his Enemies. Immediately *Fleming* gave the Signal for the whole Fleet to come up; and made himself Master of the Convoy and all the Ships in his Company, before the Captains, who were at a loss for want of their Admiral, could agree upon the Order of Battle. There was only one *Finlandish* Ship that made Resistance; the Captain defended himself with extraordinary Valor from Noon till Night; and at last chose rather to burn his Ship, than to fall under the power of his Enemies. The Commodore of the Convoy was hang'd by *Gustavus's* Order, by way of Reprisal, or Retaliation, for the Cruelties he had committed in his Government.

This was a very mortifying piece of News to Admiral *Norbi*, who, reckoning himself Master of these Seas, could not endure to be affronted in his own Element, by such bungling Seamen as the *Swedes* were generally reputed to be. He order'd his Fleet to be fitted out with all possible haste; and as soon as it was ready to put to Sea, he set sail with a

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1522.  Convoy of Provisions and Soldiers for *Stockholm*, which was still closely block'd up by *Gustavus*. As soon as he drew near the *Lubeck*-Fleet and *Fleming's* Squadron, which were Riding at Anchor in the Road of that City, the Guns on both sides began to play very furiously, and the two Fleets continu'd a whole Day firing at one another without Intermision. *Norbi* intended to renew the Fight the next Morning; but perceiving some appearances of an approaching Storm, he was forc'd to stand in to a little Island, where there was safe Anchorage, tho' it was very near the Shoar.

Having cast Anchor in that place, he was surpriz'd in the Night with so violent a Frost, that all his Ships were engag'd in the Ice. *Gustavus* hearing of this Accident, resolv'd not to neglect so fair an opportunity of obtaining a compleat and easie Victory, by setting Fire to his Enemies Navy. In pursuance of that Design, he march'd immediately with the Forces of *Lubeck*, who were encamp'd on that side, and whom he thought fitter for such an Attempt than the *Dalecarlians* and other *Peasants*, of whom his Army was compos'd. He past over into the Island upon the Ice, and gave Orders to the Soldiers to advance as near the Enemy as they cou'd, during the obscurity of the Night. They quickly found that *Norbi* was not asleep; for upon their Approach, they were saluted with repeated Discharges of great and small Shot. However, they receiv'd the Enemies Fire without shrinking, and march'd on boldly to the sides of the Ships: Some shot Arrows, others darted burning Torches, and some, transported with the eagerness of their Courage, endeavour'd to climb up the sides of the Ships; but they were quickly repuls'd and thrown down upon the Ice by the *Danes*, who fought with advantage from the Decks of their Ships. The Action was extreemly hot on both sides: The *Danes* were attack'd with
extra-

1522.



extraordinary Vigor and Obstinacy, and defended themselves with no less Courage and Bravery; but notwithstanding all their Care and Resistance, several Ships were set on Fire, and both the *Conquer'd* and *Conquerors* were forc'd, with equal haste and precipitation, to avoid the fury of the merciless Flames. The gloomy Horror of the Night, the Shrieks of half burnt Wretches, the falling of Masts and cracking of the Ships, with the confus'd Medley of so many dismal Objects, struck the most undaunted Minds with a secret and resistless Terror. The *Danes* were at once assaulted by the raging Fire and their Victorious Enemies: They had already lost several Ships, and cou'd not have sav'd one of the rest, if those who commanded under *Gustavus* won'd have compleated the Victory.

The *Lubeck* General order'd a Retreat to be sound-
ed in the heat of the Action, and in spite of *Gusta-
vus's* Threats and Intreaties, drew off his Troops,
under pretext that they were too much expos'd to
the Enemy's Fire. 'Tis not certainly known whe-
ther he was secretly gain'd by *Norbi*, as the *Admini-
strator* suspected; or whether he had receiv'd pri-
vate Orders from his Superiors to prolong the War,
by ballancing the Advantages on both sides. The
Season was not yet so far advanc'd, but that the Heat
of the Sun in the Morning was strong enough to thaw
the Ice, which was quickly dispers'd by a brisk Sou-
therly Gale, which happen'd to arise at the same
time. *Norbi* set sail immediately, and retir'd to the
Port of *Calmar*, with the rest of his Fleet which was
extreamly shatter'd.

*John
Strammel.*

Novem-
ber.

Gustavus was enrag'd at the *Lubeck* General's
Treachery, who, by an ill-tim'd Retreat, had robb'd
him of a certain Victory, and retarded the Conquest
of *Stockholm*, upon which the success of all his De-
signs depended. He was convinc'd, by this Action,
that he cou'd not safely rely upon such Allies, who
had

1522. had only assisted him out of a politic Design to put a stop to the growing power of *Denmark*; and concluded that they wou'd not only withdraw their Assistance, but turn their Arms against him, if he shou'd, by extending his Conquests, make himself the Object of their Fear. However, the necessity of having a Fleet to block up the Port of *Stockholm*, made him dissemble his Anger; and having sent those Foreign Troops into good Winter Quarters, he continu'd the Blockade with an Army of his own Subjects, who were accusom'd to endure Cold, and to encamp in the Snow. In the mean time he took care to keep so strict a Guard upon all the Avenues of the Town, that 'twas impossible for the Enemy to supply it either with Men or Provisions.

Norbi hearing of the Extremity to which the Place was redu'd, resolv'd to hazard another Battle, as soon as the Sea shou'd be open. He bestow'd a great deal of care and charge upon the Careening and Fitting out of his Fleet, and Mann'd it with a considerable Number of Soldiers, whom he drew out of the Garrisons of the Isle of *Gotland*, and of the City of *Calmar*, of which he was Governor. He was still entertaining himself with the pleasing hope of forcing *Gustavus* once more to raise the Siege of the Capital City of *Sweden*, when he receiv'd advice, that all *Denmark* was in Arms against *Christiern*.

That violent Prince concerning the Laws and Priviledges of his Country, imagin'd that he might, without controul, dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects as he pleas'd, and make his own fantastical humour the Standard and Measure of his Government. The Bishops and Nobility were the principal Objects of his Fury; for the consciousness of his own Guilt made him conclude that they cou'd not continue Loyal to their Tyrannical Oppressor,

pressor. He had put to Death several Lords and two Bishops without any form of Justice; and both the Clergy and Nobility were equally incens'd against him. Those Barbarities and the Massacre of *Stockholm* procur'd him the hatred of all his Subjects; but their *Hatred* was accompanied with so much *Fear*, that notwithstanding all his Cruelties, he might have still continu'd on the Throne if he had not over-loaded the *Danes* with insupportable Taxes and Impositions to carry on the War against *Sweden*, which was still his predominant Passion.

At last the People grew weary of Slavery and Oppression, and cou'd not longer bear the unsufferable Yoke of so Tyrannical a Government: They lost their *Fear* and *Patience*, at the same time that they lost their *Estates*, and chearfully imbrac'd the Quarrel of the Clergy and Nobility: All things being ripe for an universal Insurrection, and the Conspiracy being carried on by the United Councils and Interests of all the Estates and Orders of the Kingdom; they enter'd into a secret Treaty with *Frederick* of *Oldenburgh*, Duke of *Holstein*, and King *Christiern's* Uncle. That Prince liv'd quietly in the Lands of his Appennage, and had never discover'd any Ambition: But he was so dazz'd with the tempting Prospect of a Crown, that he heard with Pleasure the Proposals of the Malecontents, and consented to the Dethroning of his Nephew, concluding that the Tyrannical Proceedings of that unhappy Prince, wou'd justify his appearing in Arms against him, and save him from the Character of an Usurper. He levy'd Troops in his own Lands to support the Malecontents: And the revolt began in the Province of *Jutland*, which borders upon *Holstein*. The Estates of that Country, assembled at *Arhusen*, depos'd *Christiern* publickly, and even had the confidence to send him the Act or Instrument

1522.  strument of his Deposition by *Munee*, the chief Justice of that Province.

Christiern was extremely daunted with this Message, which a Wiser and more Resolute Prince would have answer'd at the head of his Army. He was still Master of the Kingdom of *Norway*, which King *Christiern I.* his Grandfather, had Entail'd upon his Family: *Copenhagen*, and the Islands of the *Baltick* Sea, had not yet declar'd in favour of his Uncle; and he was sure of the Fleet under the Command of an Admiral, who was inseparably united to his Interest. Yet he neither endeavour'd to oppose the Mutineers, nor to dispute the Crown with the Duke of *Holslein*. He concluded that the Conspiracy was universal, tho' it had only broken out in one Province. He was diffident and afraid of all Men, and even suspected his Domestic Servants, and the Officers of his Household, fearing that they might be tempted to betray him to the Prince, his Uncle. He degraded himself, and forgetting his Birth and Dignity, shamefully begg'd the advice and assistance of those whom he had treated most unworthily. His Disgrace expos'd him in his true and naked Colours to the eyes of his Subjects, and shew'd him to be as *Base* and *Cowardly* under *Adversity*, as he had been *Haughty* and *Insolent* in *Prosperity*. He chose rather to live a private Person, than to die a King; and sav'd himself by an ignominious flight out of his Dominions, with the Queen his Wife, and the Princes, his Children. He was also accompanied by *Sigebrine*, who notwithstanding the ill success of her Counsels, retain'd her wonted Empire and Authority over the mind of this miserable Prince. He plac'd his only confidence in the assistance of his Brother-in-Law the Emperor, imagining that he wou'd Arm all *Germany* to restore him to the Throne he had forsaken; as if he cou'd not have more easily kept the Possession of his

1523.  April 13.

his Crown with his own Army, than regain it with all the Forces of the Empire.

As soon as *Norbi* receiv'd the news of his Masters Flight and Abdication, he took his leave of Sweden, and gave over his design of relieving *Stockholm*. He left a weak Garison in *Calmar*, and retir'd with his whole Fleet to the Isle of *Gotland*, under pretext of securing it for *Christiern*, tho' his true Design was to keep it for himself, and under the Name of that Prince to make himself the absolute Master and Sovereign of the Island, while the Kingdoms of the North were distracted with such terrible confusions.

Gustavus resolv'd to make the best advantage of his Enemy's retreat. He had some secret intelligence in *Calmar*, who prevail'd with the *Burgbers* to receive his Troops in the Night; and the whole Garison was put to the Sword. At the same time *Arvide* seiz'd on the Isle of *Doeland*, and *Bernard de Milen* Conquer'd all *Bleking*. And these successes were quickly follow'd with the Reduction of the whole Kingdom, except *Stockholm*, and some places in *Finland*.

The Garison of *Stockholm*, weaken'd by the length of the Siege, straiten'd both by Land and Sea, and kept in Awe by the *Burgbers* of the City, who did not longer conceal their Affection to the *Administrator*, began to think of Capitulating. They knew not for whose sake they suffer'd all the Incommodities of so close a Siege; and were reduc'd to such Extremities, by want of Pay and of necessary Provisions, that they offer'd to surrender, insisting only on the Payment of the Arrears due to 'em since they enter'd into the Place.

But *Gustavus* did not think fit to observe his usual Maxim on this occasion; for tho' 'twas so much his interest to be Master of that City, he rejected the advantageous Proposals that were made to him

by

1523. by the Garison. He knew that their Numbers were extremely lessen'd, and that they wanted both vituals and Powder. But this seeming Severity was only a pretext to prolong the Siege for some days, which in the present juncture was a necessary piece of policy for the Advancement of his Fortune, and the carrying on of his secret Designs. He saw that Sweden was absolutely deliver'd from the Danish Yoke; that *Christiern* was hated and slighted by all the World, and that he wander'd about like a miserable Exile, begging the Assistance of his former Allies to restore him to the Crown of Denmark. *Gustavus* had never a nearer Prospect of mounting the Throne; but at the same time he stood in need of his most refin'd Politicks to manage so nice a Game: He consider'd that the reduction of *Stockholm*, instead of fixing him on the Throne, might set him at a further distance from it: He knew that *Ingratitude* is the usual Companion of *Security*, and was afraid that the *Swedes* being freed from the apprehension of a common Enemy, wou'd not unanimously concur to his Election, and the Establishment of his Authority. And therefore he concluded, that the best resolution he cou'd take in so Critical a Juncture was to lengthen the Siege of their Capital City, that the uncertainty of so important an event might keep 'em in awe, and in a dependence upon his Assistance.

May 25. In pursuance of this Design he call'd a Meeting or Convention of the Estates at *Stregnez*, whither the Deputies of all the Provinces resorted, attended with a vast concourse of the Nobility and Common People, who flock'd thither from all parts to see *Gustavus*, whom they look'd upon as the Hero and Guardian Angel of his Country. As soon as the Assembly was open'd they proceeded to the Election of Senators, to supply the vacant Places of those who lost their Lives in the Massacre of *Stockholm*.

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Stockholm. The *Administrator* had so great an influence upon the Deputies, and manag'd the Voices with so successful a Dexterity, that the choice fell upon such Persons as were intirely devoted to his Interest, and were either his *Relations* or *Creatures*.

The † *Speaker* of the *Estates* represented to the Assembly the absolute necessity of proceeding speedily to the Election of a *King*. Then he employ'd all his Art in Painting forth the Qualities of an excellent Prince, one that was Vigilant, Laborious, full of Courage, and indu'd with a sufficient Stock of Valour and Prudence, to oppose the unjust pretensions of the *Danes* to the *Swedish* Crown; that in this description they might see, and take notice of the Picture of *Gustavus*. He concluded, that after all the Services which the *Administrator* had done to the State, and the illustrious Proofs he had given of his extraordinary Endowments and Virtues, they were oblig'd in Gratitude to him, and in Justice to the Interests of those whom they represented, to confer the Royal Title and Authority upon their Benefactor.

This Discourse was receiv'd with an universal Applause. The Nobility and Commons Transported with their Zeal and Affection, prevented the Senators and Deputies. The whole Assembly with a loud voice Proclaim'd *Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*: 'Twas impossible to gather the Votes, or to proceed according to the usual Forms that are observ'd in such Cases. His praises were eccho'd thro' the whole Convention; he was Stil'd the *Saviour* and *Deliverer of his Country*: The Peasants and Burghers mingling confusedly with the Deputies, neglecting all marks of Distinction, and even forgetting the respect they ow'd to the Senators and other Lords, struggl'd and crowded to approach the King. The Name of *Gustavus* was repeated

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by

1523.

Bernard
Milen, Pe-
ter Erland
Ivard and
Eric Flem-
ming, Axel
Andrew,
Canut An-
drew, Peter
John, Be-
ro Claud,
Tordo Bon-
de.

† Canut
Provost of
the Cathed-
ral of
Westeras.

1523. by every Mouth; he was the Object of every Eye; and all in general endeavour'd to express their Joy at his Election, and to congratulate their own Happiness, in having an opportunity to contribute to his Advancement.

The Prince was charm'd with so many extraordinary demonstrations of his People's Affection: He own'd that it exceeded all his Services, and that their Kindness was more agreeable to him than the Noble Effect of their Gratitude. He had so much *real* or *seeming* Modesty as to decline the offer they made him: But the first Words he utter'd to that Effect, damp't the Joy of the whole Assembly. There was nothing to be seen or heard among 'em but Tears and Supplications; and so deep a Sorrow fate upon every Face, that one wou'd have thought the *Danes* had been still at the Gates of the City. At last he was prevail'd with to submit to the pleasing violence, and consented to an Advancement, which was both a *Reward* and an *Effect* of his Valour and Prudence. He was solemnly acknowledg'd as King and Sovereign of *Sweden*, and the two *Gotlands*; and receiv'd an Oath of Fidelity from the Senate and the Deputies of the provinces.

The *Estates* wou'd have immediately proceeded to his *Coronation*, but he cunningly avoided that Ceremony, under pretext that he was oblig'd to return instantly to the Siege of *Stockholm*. The true Reason why he refus'd to be Crown'd so soon was, that he was not yet sufficiently Establish'd upon the Throne, to refuse the Oaths which the Clergy exacted upon such Occasions for the preservation of their Rights and Privileges.

He invited the Senate and the greatest part of the Deputies to accompany him to the Army, that they might be present at the Surrendring of their Capital City. He knew the place cou'd not hold out longer; for the Garrison was so pinch'd with
Famine,

Famine, and so afraid of the Burghers, who began openly to threaten 'em, that they desir'd several times to Capitulate; but the Generals had Orders to prolong the Treaty during the Meeting of the Estates at *Stregnez*. As soon as the news of his Election and of his return to the Camp was divulg'd in the City, new Deputies were sent to him, and the Governor yielded up the Place, submitting all the Articles of the Capitulation to his Pleasure and Discretion.

He requir'd the Governor to deliver up to his Officers all the Money, Papers, Furniture, and other Effects that belong'd to King *Christiern*, the *Vice-Roy*, Arch-Bishop *Trolle*, and Admiral *Norbi*. He permitted the Garrison to march out with their Arms and Baggage, upon condition that for the space of Six Months they should not bear Arms against the Crown of *Sweden* or its Allies. He oblig'd himself to provide Vessels to Transport 'em to *Wisnar* or *Lubeck*; and promis'd with a great deal of cheerfulness to preserve inviolably all the Privileges of the City.

As soon as the King's Forces had taken Possession of the Town, he made his public Entry, accompany'd with all the Senators, and follow'd by a vast Number of Lords, Gentlemen, and Military Officers, all magnificently Cloath'd. The Prince himself augmented the Splendor of the Cavalcade by his graceful Mien, and his Noble and Majestic Air, which was very advantageously set off by the Lustre of his Youth. He was receiv'd at the Gate by the Consuls and Magistrates, who presented the Keys of the City on their Knees: And the People mingling with the Soldiers without either Fear or Order, made the Air resound with a thousand joyful Acclamations. The King went straight to the Church, and gave Thanks to God for the success of his Arms; after which, he gave a splendid Entertainment to

1523. all the Senators and the principal Officers of his Army.


Thus *Gustavus* became Master of the Capital City of his Kingdom, and began the publick Exercise of the Regal Authority: He sent orders to notify his Election, to all the Provinces, that the People might acknowledge him as Sovereign; and commanded all the Governors of Places, and the principal Officers of his Troops to repair with all diligence to their respective Posts. He gave Audience at all Hours, receiving Persons of *Quality* with Civility and Marks of Honour, and Persons of *Mere* with Demonstrations of Kindness and Esteem. The People began to breath after so many terrible Distasters: Trade was restor'd, and the *Swedes* had the pleasure to contemplate the unwonted Prospect of a lasting Peace. The whole Kingdom was freed from the Tyrannical Dominion of its Old Enemies, and subject to a Prince that was able to protect and defend it. He introduc'd a Politeness of Manners and Magnificence of Habit into the Court, that were not known, or at least not so remarkable, in the preceeding Reigns. For there was a certain rough wildness in the Temper of most of that Nation, which stood very much in need of Polishing and Refining. And perhaps he us'd these Arts on purpose to allure the Nobility from their Country Seats and Castles, and to oblige 'em to depend upon the Court for Places, or Pensions to maintain the Charge of that Expensive way of Living.

He had not forgotten the danger to which he was expos'd by *Peterfon* the *Dalecarlian*; but the good Office he receiv'd from the Wife, aton'd for the Treachery of the Husband. He remember'd also and design'd to reward the Kindness and Hospitality of the Curate of *Suvedsjö*, who receiv'd him into his House and entertain'd him in his lowest Condition: And hearing that his Benefactor was dead, he order'd a

Crown

Part II. *Revolutions in Sweden.*

21

Crown of Copper Gilt to be plac'd on the top of the Parish-Church, as a Monument of his Grati- 1523. 

Then the King sent the two *Flemings* with a strong Body of Soldiers to drive out the *Danes*, who were still Masters of some Places in *Finland*: And the Arrival of these two Lords at the Head of a Victorious Army, struck their dishearten'd Enemies with such a Terror that they obey'd the first Summons, and Surrender'd the Places without firing a Gun. They desir'd no other conditions, but that they shou'd be safely conducted to *Denmark*, and were even glad to shelter themselves in the *Swedish* Army, from the Fury of an incens'd Rabble, who notwithstanding the Articles of their Capitulation wou'd have taken a full and Bloody Revenge for all the Cruelties and Robberies they had committed in the Country during the Reign of *Christiern*. But *Gustavus* took care to send 'em under the protection of a strong Convoy to *Denmark*, where they fill'd the whole Country with the News of his Conquests and Election: The Officers extoll'd his Power, and the Numbers and Valour of his Armies, that they might not be Censur'd for submitting to the unequal Force of so potent an Enemy.

Arch-Bishop *Trolle* was extremely mortifi'd with the report of *Gustavus's* Advancement, which left him no hope of returning to *Sweden* and recovering his former Dignity. He stay'd in *Denmark* after his Masters flight, where he liv'd obscurely, contemn'd by the *Danes*, and forgotten by the Court. He saw himself expos'd to the usual Fate of Traitors, who are always slighted and abhorr'd, as soon as they become useless and unserviceable; but his Temper was so little alter'd by his Misfortunes, that he endeavour'd to regain his Credit and Interest by new Treasons, and by rekindling the flame that seem'd to be almost extinguish'd. He address'd

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him.

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himself to the new King of *Denmark*, and told him, in a private Audience, that he had an undoubted Right to *Sweden*, as he was the Son of King *Christiern I.* and that the *Danes* themselves wou'd despise him, if he shou'd tamely suffer that Crown to remain on the Head of an Usurper. He added, that the *Swedish* Clergy had not forgotten their old affection to the *Danish* Interest; and assur'd him, that there were many considerable Persons in that Kingdom who wou'd own his Right, as soon as he shou'd think fit to claim it.

Frederic was not able to withstand a Temptation that flatter'd his Interest and Ambition. He caus'd himself to be crown'd King of *Sweden* by that Prelate at *Copenhagen*; as if there had been nothing else requir'd to put him in possession of the Crown, but the Ceremony of setting it on his Head. At the same time he sent an Ambassador to the Senate of that Kingdom, to complain of the late Election, as a violation of the Treaty of *Calmar*, and an Injury to the Crown of *Denmark*.

The Senate of *Sweden* wou'd have sent the Ambassador back without suffering him to deliver his Message; but *Gustavus* was so far from being of that Opinion, that he sent some of his Officers to receive him, and allow'd him a magnificent Entertainment during his stay in the Kingdom. Afterwards he summon'd a Convention of the Estates, not so much to consult about the King of *Denmark's* Proposals, as to make that Prince's Envoy an Eye-witness of the Confirmation of his Election by all the Orders of the Kingdom. The Ambassador was introduc'd into the Assembly, and in a long Harangue endeavour'd to convince 'em that they were oblig'd to own his Master's Title to the Crown of *Sweden*, by virtue of the Treaty of *Calmar*. He magnify'd the Power of that Monarch, and extoll'd his Vertues and rare Endowments; concluding, that they ought to imitate the

1524.



the Example of the *Norwegians*, and put themselves under the protection of a Prince that was able to defend 'em against the late King *Christiern*, who was preparing to force a passage into the Kingdoms of the *North* with all the Forces of the *Empire*.

After the Assembly had heard this Discourse with a great deal of Impatience and Indignation, the *Speaker* of the *Estates* made a short, but very brisk and smart Reply. He told the Ambassador, That *Sweden* had been too long subject to the Dominion of her Enemies, and wou'd take care to lodge the supreme power in better Hands for the future; That all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom had, by a voluntary Election, put themselves under the Protection of their *Deliverer*, who wou'd preserve his Right and their Liberty in spite of the Pretensions and Opposition of the *Danes*; That the Treaty of *Calmar* was violatèd almost as soon as it was concluded; That the *Swedes*, notwithstanding their intestine Divisions, chose rather to make the Kingdom the Seat of a bloody War for more than a Hundred years, than to submit to a Treaty that was so injurious and odious to the whole Nation; and that now they were united under a Victorious Prince, he wou'd find it a hard Task to perswade 'em to resume their broken Fetters.

The *Estates* were not satisfy'd with rejecting the King of *Denmark's* Claim; but, to give *Gustavus* a more convincing Mark of their Affection and Fidelity to his Interest, they proceeded immediately to give Judgment against Archbishop *Trolle*, and, in the Ambassador's presence, declar'd that Prelate a Traitor and an Enemy to his Country: And, in the heat of their Zeal, they made a solemn Act or Decree, by which they oblig'd themselves to approve whatever *Gustavus* shou'd think fit to do or attempt for the Preservation of his Dignity, granting him full Power to declare War or conclude a Peace with-

Loc. l. 6.
p. 237.

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out calling a Meeting or *Convention of the Estates*, and resolving that his Enemies shou'd be reputed Enemies to the State and Nation. Thus the *Swedes* were so charm'd with the Valor and excellent Qualities of their new Monarch, that they thought they cou'd not more effectually secure the Liberty and Happiness of the *Subject*, than by confirming and enlarging the Prerogative of the *Crown*: And that cunning Prince, under the specious Title of the *Defender of the Public Liberty*, was advancing by slow, but sure Steps, to an absolute Authority over the Kingdom.

He kept the *Danish* Ambassador at Court some Days after he had receiv'd his Audience; and order'd the principal Lords of the Kingdom to Treat him by turns at their Houses. Afterwards he invited him to be present at a Review which he took of his Forces, pretending that 'twas merely an effect of his Complaisance to that Minister, tho' his true design was to make him a Witness of the Strength and Numbers of his Troops. He honour'd him with magnificent Presents at his departure; and left no means unessay'd to gain him, or at least to make him give an advantageous Character of his Power and Grandeur. At last he dismiss'd him, and sent an Envoy along with him to the King of *Denmark*, with Orders to demand the Liberty of the *Administrator's* Widow, and of the other Ladies whose Husbands were put to Death by *Christiern*.

These Ladies were still kept Prisoners in *Denmark*; and *Gustavus* knew that he cou'd neither oblige the *Swedes*, nor raise his own Glory more effectually, than by procuring their Liberty. But these were not the only, nor the most important Instructions he gave to his Envoy: He consider'd that *Christiern* had put himself under the Protection of a Prince who was able to put him in possession of the Kingdoms he had lost, especially if he shou'd find

'em



'em divided. And therefore he gave secret Orders to his Agent to study the Character of King *Frederic*, to discover his Designs and the Inclinations of his Council, and to dispose 'em to a firm and lasting Peace, which was equally necessary for both these Monarchs, to settle their Authority in the beginning of their Reigns.

The *Swedish* Envoy, at his arrival at the Court of *Denmark*, deliver'd his Message publicly, demanding the Liberty of the Princess and the other *Swedish* Ladies: But afterwards, in a private Audience, he complain'd, in his Master's Name, of the Injury that Monarch had receiv'd from the King of *Denmark*, by sending an Ambassador to *Sweden*, without acquainting him with his Intention, or directing the Embassy to him. He represented to him, That the Kings, his Predecessors, notwithstanding their Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*, were more careful to observe the common Rules of Decency, even during the late War betwixt the two Kingdoms; and that they were so far from scrupling to acknowledge the Dignity and Authority of the *Administrators*, that they directed the Letters and Embassies to them, which they sent to the whole Nation. He added, with a great deal of Courage and Resolution, that 'twou'd be more proper, for a Prince that was not well fix'd upon his Throne, to secure his Interest at home, than to think of Invading his Neighbors; and that tho' the King his Master, entertain'd not any ambitious Thoughts of aggrandizing himself or extending the Limits of his Dominions, his Army and Garrisons were in so good a Condition, that 'twas beyond the Power of all his Enemies to make themselves Masters of one Inch of *Swedish* Ground. And besides, the cunning Minister took occasion to insinuate, that *Gustavus* might, if he pleas'd, be acknowledg'd King of *Sweden* by *Christiern* himself, who, fixing all his Thoughts and Designs upon the

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Reduction of *Denmark*, had offer'd to relinquish and resign his Pretensions to *Sweden*, provided *Gustavus* wou'd enter into a League against the *Danes*. But he added, that his Master refus'd absolutely to entertain any Correspondence with his Father's Murderer, and declar'd that he was his Enemy both as a private Person, and as King of *Sweden*.

Frederic perceiv'd, by the Courage and Resolution of the *Swedish* Envoy, and by the Relation of his own Ambassador, that *Gustavus's* Power was greater than the Archbishop had represented it: He found that 'twou'd not be convenient, in the present Juncture of Affairs, to renew ancient Pretensions that might make his Country the Seat of a War. He offer'd to come to a Friendly Agreement with *Gustavus*, and to enter into an Offensive and Defensive League with him against *Christiern*; and for a Pledge and Mark of his Esteem and Friendship, he sent back the *Administrator's* Widow, and the rest of the *Swedish* Ladies that had been retain'd as Prisoners in *Denmark* since the Massacre of *Stockholm*, appointing an honourable Convoy to attend 'em.

July.

Gustavus, with all his Court, went to meet the Widow-Princess, and receiv'd her with all the Respect that was due to her Birth and Merit. He gave her an Apartment in the Castle of *Stockholm*, and advanc'd her to the Rank she held in the Kingdom during the Life of the *Administrator*. He endeavor'd, with all imaginable Marks of Honor and Respect, to make her bear with less impatience the Misfortunes of her Family; and put all the rest of the Ladies in possession of their Estates. Most of 'em had Youth enough to recommend 'em to second Husbands; but almost all the Lords of their Quality were either kill'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*, or were already marry'd. No Woman of Quality, whether Maid or Widow, was suffer'd, in *Sweden*,

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to contract an Alliance with a Family less noble than her own. But the King remov'd that Obstacle, and permitted these Ladies to chuse their Husbands as they pleas'd, tho' under that seeming Complaisance he conceal'd a politic Design; for he manag'd their Inclinations so dexterously that they were easily perswaded to chuse the principal Officers of his Army. He exhorted these Illustrious Widows to prefer Merit before Riches, and to bestow their Fortunes and Affections on Men that had lost part of their Blood in the Service of their Country, rather than on those who deriv'd their Blood from a long series of noble Ancestors, but had never spent a drop of it for the defence and preservation of the State. By these Alliances he secur'd the greatest Families of the Kingdom, and at the same time found out a cheap way to reward his Creatures, and to enable 'em to serve him more effectually.

Whatever Joy he express'd at the Arrival of the *Administrator's* Widow, the inward satisfaction of his Mind was not answerable to those external Demonstrations. She had two Children, who were meer Infants at the death of her Husband, Prince *Steno*, for whose Memory and Family the *Swedes* had an extraordinary Veneration. *Gustavus* took the two young Princes, under pretext of educating 'em in the Palace, and resolv'd to provide a Husband for the Princess their Mother, who cou'd not draw any advantage from that Alliance to the prejudice of his Authority and Government. He propos'd and made her accept of *Tureiobanson*, the first Senator and *Great Marschal* of the Kingdom. The King had consider'd the Character of that Lord, and found him to be such a Person as he design'd for a Husband to the Princess. He was a Man of great Quality, and had a considerable Estate both in *Sweden* and *Denmark*: He was extreamly proud of these Advantages, but had neither Valor nor Courage to re-commend

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commend him to the Esteem and Affection of the Soldiers. His *Birth* was his only *Merit*, and consequently he cou'd not be suppos'd to have any considerable Interest in a Kingdom where a *brave Warrior* was infinitely more esteem'd than one that cou'd only boast of his Descent from an *Illustrious Family*.

Gustavus made it his next care to find out the best Expedients to weaken the Power of the *Clergy*, whom he suspected and hated for their great Riches, and for the Affection they still retain'd to the *Danish* Government, which had always maintain'd their Authority. Arch-bishop *Trolle* was still a zealous Promoter of that Interest: 'Twas by his Advice that *Frederic* caus'd himself to be crown'd King of *Sweden*, and to preserve his Credit with that Prince, he entertain'd a secret Correspondence with the *Swedish* Clergy. The King was resolv'd to humble a Body of Men, who by their Power and Cabals had always disturb'd the Government, and oppos'd the Authority of the Prince, and were never satisfied but when they were intrusted with the largest share of the management of public Affairs. But he was oblig'd to defer the execution of that Design for some time, and was too prudent to begin his Reign with disputing the Privileges of an Order, whom the most absolute Prince shou'd never touch but with a tender and wary Hand.

He contented himself at first with managing the Elections for the filling up of vacant Benefices. He procur'd two Persons to be nam'd to the Bishopricks of *Strengne*, and *Westeras*, who were entirely devoted to him, and cou'd not pretend to any Power or Interest in the Kingdom but by his Favour and Protection. Afterwards he sent word to the Canons of *Upsal*, that considering the Flight and Condemnation of their Arch-bishop, 'twou'd be convenient to chuse a fit Person to succeed him. After the Forms and

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and Proceedings that are requisite in such Cases, and the usual Citation and Summoning of that Prelate to return to the Kingdom and vindicate himself from the Crimes that were laid to his Charge, his Contumacy in not appearing was reputed a voluntary Abdication, and the Chapter proceeded to a new Election. By virtue of a Recommendation from the Court, which even then was not much different from an absolute Order, the Choice fell upon one *John Magnus*, a Native of *Sweden*, who was learned in Scholastick Divinity, very pious, and of an exemplary Life. He was naturally of a fearful Temper, and unfit for the management of Affairs: He was a Lover of Solitude, and had no Interest in the Kingdom; and consequently was neither capable of forming nor prosecuting any Designs against the Government.

Gustavus concluded, that by these Nominations he had secur'd the Quiet of the State, which was usually disturb'd by the Ambition of the Bishops. But as he was entertaining himself with the delightful Prospect of an un-interrupted Prosperity, as the glorious Reward and Fruit of his Labours, and was preparing to make his Subjects sensible of their Happiness under the kind Influences of his Government, he was engag'd, by the Regency of *Lubeck*, in an Affair that put him to a great deal of Charge and Trouble.

After the *Flight* and *Abdication* of King *Christiern*, *Severin de Norbi* retir'd to the Isle of *Gotland*, exclaiming against the *Danish* Rebellion, and protesting that he wou'd revenge his Master's Injuries upon *Frederick* and *Gustavus*, whom he branded with the odious Name of *Usurpers*. His Ships cruis'd perpetually upon the *Baltick* Sea, and took several considerable Prizes. The success of his first Attempts, and the Richness of his Prizes made him extremely arrogant; and he was so powerfully charm'd

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The Merchants of *Lubeck* were possess'd of the whole Commerce and Trade of *Sweden*, in Exclusion to all other Nations, by Virtue of the Treaty which the Regency concluded with *Gustavus's* Secretary: And the Magistrates of that City had granted a Right of Partner-Ship to the *Hanse-Towns* of *Dantzick*, *Hamburg*, *Rostock*, *Wismar*, and *Lunenburg*. But their Ships were so narrowly watch'd by *Norbi*, and the rest of the Pirates, that few or none of them escap'd. The Regency of *Lubeck*, which for the most part was compos'd of the Principal Merchants of the City, being deeply concern'd in these Losses, wou'd have assaulted *Norbi* and endeavour'd to unkennel the rest of the *Corsaires*, if they had not been deterr'd by the expensiveness of the War, and the uncertainty of the Event. In so pressing a Difficulty they resolv'd to have recourse to the Celebrated Valour of *Gustavus*, and to send one of their principal Magistrates to engage him in the attempt, under pretext that the Isle of *Gothland* was an Ancient Fief or Dependency of the Crown of *Sweden*. They intrusted the Negotiation of so important an Affair to one *Herman*, an Old Consul of the City, who under the
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seeming Candour and Simplicity of an honest Merchant, conceal'd all the Craftiness and Subtilty of the most dissembling Statesman.

After his Arrival at *Stockholm* he complimented *Gustavus* in the name of his Masters, and Congratulated the Glory and Prosperity of his Reign. Then complaining of *Norbi's* Piracies, he told the King, that the Regency wou'd have sent an Army to *Gutland*, to extirpate that Nest of Pirates, if they had not been certainly inform'd that the Island belong'd to the Crown of *Sweden*; that all the Inhabitants of the North were surpriz'd, that so potent and Victorious a Prince would suffer such an infamous Crew to chuse a Retreat in his Dominions; that *Sweden* was in a manner invested by the Ships of those insolent Pirates; that his Majesty's Honour and the interest of his Subjects oblig'd him to Scour the Seas of these Rovers, who ruin'd the Trade of his Kingdom; and that it wou'd be of great Importance for the security of his Government to make himself Master of an Island which cover'd the greatest part of the *Swedish* Coasts.

Gustavus was not ignorant of the pretensions he had to that Island, and of all the Advantages of its Situation with respect to *Sweden*; but he was loath to engage in a Foreign War, and to carry his Army out of the Kingdom in the beginning of his Reign, lest some disturbance shou'd happen, or *Christiern* shou'd make a Descent, in his absence. Nor was he Master of a sufficient Fund to defray the Charge of so considerable an Expedition, much less to carry on the War, if *Norbi* shou'd make a longer Defence than he expected, or if the King of *Denmark* should take his part, and concern himself in the Quarrel. And besides, he was sensible that the only Reason which made those Trading Cities so desirous to engage him in a War with the Pirates, was, that they might oblige him at his own Charge

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Charge to secure 'em in the Possession of those vast Advantages they enjoy'd by ingrossing the whole Commerce of *Sweden*.

Having duly weigh'd the Importance of these Reasons, he told the *Lubeck* Ambassador that he was not dispos'd to undertake the Employment of a *Knight Errant*, and to rove about the World in Quest of Adventurers; that his Presence was necessary in his own Kingdom, and that 'twas reasonable his Subjects shou'd enjoy the sweetness of a Peace which he had procur'd for 'em by the success of his Arms. He added, that he was not ignorant of his undoubted Right to the Isle of *Gothland*, but that the King of *Denmark* had also some pretensions to the same Island, and consequently that the Attempt in which the Regency of *Lubeck* wou'd engage him wou'd certainly make that Prince his Enemy; and concluded with assuring the Ambassador, that he wou'd endeavour to expel *Norbi* and the rest of the Pyrates out of the Island, as soon as the Difference betwixt him and *Frederick* cou'd be brought to an amicable Conclusion.

The *Lubeck* Envoy perceiv'd by this Answer, that the King was dissatisfied that the Merchants of that City shou'd enjoy the whole advantage of the *Swedish* Commerce, without paying any Customs or Duties; and that he was resolv'd to repay 'em in their own Coin by taking advantage of their present Necessities. And therefore to gain him to a Compliance with the Desires of that Republic, he made the following Proposals: That the *Hanse-Towns* shou'd furnish him with a Fleet to transport his Forces into the Island; that by the consent of the Regency of *Lubeck*, the payment of the Sum due to that Republic from *Sweden*, shou'd be delay'd for five Years; and that in case his Majesty cou'd not make himself Master of the Island, the Regency shou'd bear a share in the Charge of the Expedition. He offer'd also, that

that the *Hanse-Towns*, associated with *Lubeck*, shou'd keep the Sea with a potent Fleet, to intercept any Succors or Relief that might be sent from *Denmark*; and added, that in case King *Frederic* shou'd obstinately persist in claiming the Sovereignty of *Gothland*, the *Regency* wou'd undertake to negotiate a Match betwixt his Majesty and *Dorothy* the Princess of *Denmark*; and that in consideration of the Marriage, her Father shou'd resign all his Pretensions to that Island.

The Ambassador industriously divulg'd, both at Court and among the People, the advantageous Proposals he had made to the King, that the *Swedes* might think themselves concern'd in the success of his Negotiation. And besides, he endeavour'd to persuade some of the Senators, by subtil and crafty Insinuation, that if the King shou'd reject the Offers he had made to him, the *Hanse-Towns* wou'd be oblig'd to have recourse to the King of *Denmark*, and to join their Forces with that Prince's Army to drive the Pirates out of the Island. At the same time he gain'd several Merchants who dealt and corresponded with those of *Lubeck*, and consequently were concern'd, as well as they, in the Prizes that weretaken by *Norbi*. Thus he form'd a Party in the Senate, and among the Inhabitants of *Stockholm*, who had not yet lost their Right to discover their Sentiments concerning State-Affairs. The common People were so accusom'd to hear of *Gustavus's* Victories, that they fancied him to be Invincible; and being cunningly wheedl'd by the Ambassador's Emisaries, they ran to the Gates of the Palace, crying out all the way, that 'twas a shame for *Sweden* to suffer the Insolency of those Pyrates, who ruin'd the Trade of the Kingdom; that the Sea was so pester'd with 'em that a Boat durst scarce adventure to sail out of the Port, and that they were not afraid to come within the reach of the Guns of the

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Castle. And even some of the principal Lords of the Kingdom, perceiving that the King was still irresolute, cou'd not forbear telling him, that the *Administrator Suanto* wou'd never have suffer'd these Pirates to insult the Coasts of the Kingdom.

Gustavus cou'd not bear a Reproach that seem'd to accuse him of Weakness and Cowardise: He replied, in an angry Tone, that neither his *Friends* nor his *Enemies* had ever suspected him of want of Courage; that he wou'd no longer resist their Importunities, but that he might venture to foretel that the success of that Expedition wou'd not answer their Desires and Expectations. Thus he was at last prevail'd with to sign the Treaty, which was also subscrib'd by the Ambassador, as Plenipotentiary from the *Regency of Lubeck*, whither he return'd to hasten the departure of the Fleet, according to the Agreement concluded with *Gustavus*.

That wise Monarch had establish'd his Authority on such solid Foundations, that he neither dreaded the Murmuring of the People, nor the Dissatisfaction of the Nobility; nor cou'd the united Remonstrances of all his Subjects have engag'd him in that Design, if he had not been afraid that the *Hanse-Towns* wou'd have enter'd into a Treaty with the *Danes*. He knew that *Norbi* was not in a condition to oppose the Force of *Sweden*, and that he might easily find an opportunity to crush so feeble an Enemy; but he was sensible that 'twou'd be a difficult Task to expel the *Danes*, if they shou'd take this occasion to make themselves Masters of the Island. In order to the execution of the Design he had undertaken, he commanded the Troops that were appointed for that Expedition to march, without noise, towards the Port of *Calmar*, which is opposite to *Gotland*: And notwithstanding his Unwillingness to undertake a War in the present juncture

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ture of Affairs, as soon as he was engag'd in the Attempt he began to prosecute it with so much Vigor, that he order'd all the Plate in the Palace to be melted down, to maintain the Charge of the Expedition. He went himself to *Calmar* to receive the *Lubeck* Ships, and saw his Troops embark under the Command of *Bernard de Milen*.

The General landed without opposition at the Head of Eight thousand Men, and in less than 15 Days made himself Master of all *Gotland*, except *Wibi*, the Capital City, and the only fortifi'd Place in the Island, which he invested. *Norbi* surpriz'd at so unexpected an Attack, and finding himself unable to resist the power of the King of *Sweden*, set up King *Frederick's* Colors in the highest place of the Town, and at the same time sent one of his Creatures to that Prince, offering to acknowledge him as Sovereign, if he wou'd assist him with some Troops to oppose the *Swedish* Invasion.

These Proposals were very welcom to *Frederic*; for tho' he had not look'd upon *Gotland* as a dependency of the Crown of *Denmark*, 'twas his Interest, according to the usual policy of all Sovereigns, to curb the growing Power of a neighbouring Prince. He was glad of any opportunity to stop the rapid progress of that young Conqueror, and wou'd have willingly sent *Norbi* the Assistance he desir'd; but the Fleet of *Lubeck* and the rest of the *Hanse Towns* kept the Sea, and he was afraid of engaging in a Foreign War, at a time when he had reason to fear a Domestick Invasion, in order to the Restauration of *Christiern*, whom the Emperor had solemnly receiv'd under his Protection.

These Considerations made him chuse rather to try the effect of a Negotiation, than to hazard a Rupture with so potent a Neighbour: And in pursuance of that Design, he sent an Ambassador to *Lubeck*, to complain of the King of *Sweden's* In-

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justice,

1525. justice, and to desire the *Regency* to employ their Interest with that Prince to oblige him to withdraw his Forces out of an Island that did not belong to him. *Frederic* was not ignorant of the League which that *Republic* had made with *Gustavus*: But to prevent the ill Consequences of that Treaty, his Ambassador had Orders to represent to the Magistrates of *Lubeck*, that 'twas their Interest to put a timely stop to the prevailing power of *Sweden*; that *Gustavus* was a daring and courageous Prince, who wou'd infallibly endeavour to make his Conquests as boundless as his Ambition, if his Designs were not prevented by a seasonable Opposition; that the Sovereignty of the Isle of *Gotland* was an undoubted Right of the Crown of *Denmark*; that *Norbi* was intrusted with the Government of it by *Christiern II.* and that since he was willing to submit to his lawful Sovereign, the King his Master cou'd not refuse to protect his own Subject, and to defend that Island to the utmost of his power, as a Territory that belong'd to his Crown. He added, that his Majesty wou'd submit his Right to the Judgment of the *Hanse-Towns*, rather than disturb the Peace of the North, and that he was willing the Island shou'd remain sequester'd in the Hands of the *Regency* of *Lubeck*, till the Controversy betwixt him and *Gustavus*, shou'd be decided by a final Sentence.

The Magistrates of that City were easily persuaded to embrace a Proposal, which if it shou'd take effect, wou'd not only secure 'em from the Pirates, but free 'em from the Obligation of keeping a Fleet at Sea to cover the *Swedish* Conquests. They were extremely pleas'd with the *Sequestration*, and resolv'd rather to be at the Charge of maintaining a Garison in the Island, than to suffer it to fall into the Hands of *Gustavus*, who might one Day make use of that opportunity to disturb their Trade, and to render himself more absolute in the *Baltick* Sea.

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Thus the *Regency* concluded a secret Treaty with *Frederic's* Ambassador, by which they oblig'd themselves to open a free passage to the *Danish* Succors. 'Twas also agreed, that the King of *Denmark* shou'd send an Ambassador to *Gustavus*, to complain of his Expedition against the Isle of *Gothland*; and that his Envoy shou'd be follow'd by Ambassadors from the *Hanse-Towns*, who shou'd offer their Mediation, and declare War against either of the two contending Parties that shou'd refuse to come to an Accommodation.

Immediately the *Danish* Forces were order'd to Embark, and enter'd the Port of *Wisbi* without any opposition from the Fleet of *Lubeck*, and soon after the Ambassador of that Town arrived at *Stockholm*, to expostulate with *Gustavus* in the Name of the King his Master, for besieging a Place in his Dominions without Declaring War against him. At the same time the Ambassadors of the *Hanse-Towns* came to propose a Truce, and to desire an Interview betwixt the two Kings at *Malmogen*. They offer'd the Mediation of their Masters, and requir'd the Interview in so peremptory a manner, that *Gustavus* perceiv'd he must either submit to that Expedient, or expect immediately the Declaration of an open War.

Thus fearing to be Assaulted by so potent a Confederacy, he was forc'd to divert the threatening Storm by consenting to the Conditions that were propos'd to him. To prevent any Suspicion of Treachery, *Frederick*, who was Master of the Place appointed for the Interview, sent Four Senators, and Six of the most considerable Lords in *Denmark*, to remain at *Stockholm* as Hostages, during the Conference betwixt the two Kings. *Gustavus* was sensible of the danger to which he expos'd himself, but he was so afraid of irritating the *Hanse Towns*, and so desirous to make the *Danes* themselves ac-

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knowledge his Title to the Crown of *Sweden*, that he resolv'd at all Adventures to pursue his intended Journey. He repair'd to *Malmogen*, accompanied with the Great Marshal *Tureiobanfon*, and two other Senators, after he had receiv'd another safe Conduct from *Frederick*, and the security of the *Hanse-Towns* for the safety of his Person; tho' it may be doubted whether any security can be given for a King, when he is in the Dominions of his Enemies.

The reciprocal pretensions of the two Crowns to the Isle of *Gothland* were the Subject of this Conference. The matter was debated on both sides with a great deal of heat; and each party produc'd their respective Titles. *Bildius*, High Chamberlain to the King of *Denmark*, and *Tureiobanfon*, for *Gustavus*, urg'd the Claims, and defended the Rights of their Masters: But in the Progress of the Conference the Great Marshal betray'd the Cause and Interest of the Crown of *Sweden*. He cou'd not without a secret envy behold the Power and Prosperity of *Gustavus*; and was unwilling to submit to a Master who not long before was his equal. He had a very considerable Estate in *Denmark*, which made him afraid of disobliging that Monarch, who had threaten'd to deprive him of all the Lands he possess'd in his Kingdom, if he shou'd persist too obitimately in the Defence of his Master. That Menace stopp'd his Mouth so effectually, that he pretended a Cold and a violent Cough, to excuse him from speaking. *Gustavus* seeing himself betray'd by his Treacherous Minister, undertook the Defence of his own Cause, and alledg'd with a great deal of Vigor and Eloquence, that the Isle of *Gothland* was always reckon'd a part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*; that the *Danes* were only admitted into it by vertue of the Treaty of *Calmar*; that their Kings had no other right to it, during the uni-

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on of the two Kingdoms; but as they were Sovereigns of *Sweden*; that 'twas plain and undoubtedly certain, that King *Albert* Mortgag'd the Island to the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order for the Sum of Twenty Thousand Rofe-Nobles; that Queen *Margaret* impos'd a Tax, which was levy'd only in *Sweden*, to redeem it; that King *Eric* her Nephew and Succesor retir'd thither after his Abdication, and afterwards deliver'd it up to the *Danes*, to the prejudice of the Crown of *Sweden*. The solidity of these Reasons put the *Danish* Minister to silence; but the Ambassadors of the *Hanse-Towns*, resolving to keep up the difference, referr'd the Decision of it to the Regency of *Lubeck*, under pretext of bringing it to a Friendly Agreement. They wou'd have also oblig'd the King of *Sweden* to withdraw his Troops out of the Island, and propos'd that the City of *Lubeck* shou'd put a Garrison into *Wisbi* according to the private Treaty they had concluded with the *Danish* Ambassador. But *Gustavus* was so far from consenting to either of these motions, that he protested he wou'd rather break off the Conference and declare War, than suffer himself to be bubbl'd out of his Conquests: And the King of *Denmark*, who had put a strong Garrison into *Wisbi*, instead of insisting upon the Sequestration, which he had only propos'd to Tempt the *Lubeckers* to break their Treaty with *Gustavus*, was easily perswaded to consent, that every thing should remain in the same posture in expectation of the Regency's Sentence.

These two Princes gave one another reciprocal marks of Esteem and Respect, notwithstanding the differences that reign'd between 'em. They found themselves engag'd in the same Interest, and enter'd into a League Offensive and Defensive against the late King *Christiern*, without mentioning the Treaty of *Calmar*. They gave each other mutual assurances

1525. of a sincere Friendship notwithstanding the Natural Antipathy betwixt the Two Kingdoms. After their last Complements, *Gustavus* took leave of the King of *Denmark*, and left *Malmogen* to return to *Sweden*. He had not gone far when he met the *Lubeck* Ambassador, who engag'd him in the Expedition against *Goisland*. The sight of that Minister put him in mind of the Treachery of the Republic, and he was so Transported with fury at so provoking an Idea, that he stop't the subtle Consul, and ask'd him fiercely what was become of the Treaty and the Magnificent promises of his Masters? At the same time he put his Hand to his Poniard, as if he had been going to kill him: But one of the Senators that accompanied him, prevented the Blow, and the Ambassador made his Escape. Thus *Gustavus* retir'd out of the *Danish* Territories, and as he enter'd into his own Dominions, he told those who follow'd him, that *he wou'd never go out of 'em again but at the head of an Army*.

Herman.

Some of the Senators and Officers of the Army, who had the largest share in his Confidence and Favor, took this occasion to conjure him, that he wou'd not longer delay the Ceremony of his *Coronation*. To convince him of the importance and reasonableness of their desire, they told him, that 'twas but too probable the Success of his Arms and the Glory of his Victories had procur'd him the Envy and Jealousy of his Neighbors, and perhaps also the secret hatred of some Great Persons in his own Kingdom; and that if either of 'em cou'd obtain their desire he wou'd be less Fortunate and Happy. They added, that there were several Lords in *Sweden* who pretended they cou'd hardly look upon him as their Sovereign, because he had not yet receiv'd the Crown; and concluded, that the Ceremony of his *Coronation* was absolutely necessary for the

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Establishment of his Authority, and the Confirmation of his Title, that neither his Foreign nor Domestic Enemies might entertain the least hope of seeing any disadvantageous alteration in his Fortune.

Gustavus was not ignorant of the Importance and Necessity of that Ceremony in an *Elective* Kingdom: But nothing cou'd shake the resolution he had taken to put off his Coronation till he had Executed those secret designs, without which he thought he cou'd neither settle his Authority nor secure the Happiness of his Reign. 'Tis true, he was acknowledged as Sovereign, and the Army was at his disposal: But he was not Master of a sufficient Fund to carry on a War. The Revenues of the Crown were either Alienated or Usurp'd, the Imposition of Taxes was reputed Tyrannical, the *Commons* were reduc'd to extream Poverty, and the *Nobility* exhausted by a long and Expensive War. On the contrary, the *Clergy* was Rich and Powerful, especially the *Bishops* who had seiz'd on the Principal Forts, and part of the Revenues of the Crown. He knew that these Prelates were always very careful to make the Prince take a Solemn Oath, on the day of his Coronation, to preserve and maintain all their Priviledges: And he was so far from intending either to take or perform an Oath of that Nature, that he was firmly resolv'd to Abrogate and Cancel all those Privileges, which he look'd upon either as forc'd and involuntary Grants, or unjust Usurpations of the Lands and Revenues of the Crown.

After he had, in a very obliging manner, thank'd these Lords for the Zeal they express'd for his Interest, he told 'em, that the Ceremony of his Coronation cou'd not be perform'd without a vast Expence; that there were other more pressing occasions for Money that were absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the State; that he had receiv'd
advice

1525. advice of the daily increase of *Christiern's* Forces and Party; that the Emperor seem'd resolv'd to re-establish that Prince in the possession of his former Dominions; that 'twas uncertain whether the Forces design'd for that Expedition wou'd invade *Sweden* or *Denmark*; that 'twas absolutely impossible to oppose their Descent without an Army by Land, and a Fleet at Sea; that he was wholly destitute of Money to raise Forces, and make other necessary Preparations; that 'twas well known he had Mortgag'd his own Estate to expel the *Danes* out of the Kingdom; that he had lately melted down the Plate that belong'd to the Crown to pay the Charge of the Expedition to *Gotland*, which was thought to be of so great Importance for the security and freedom of Trade, and that considering the extream misery of the common People, and the Poverty of the Nobility after so long a War, 'twas high time to demand a Subsidy of the Clergy, who were actually in possession of above one half of the Lands and Revenues of the Kingdom, and perhaps made their Court to King *Christiern* in private, on the score of their never having contributed to the support of his Enemies. He did not then think fit to give 'em a clearer view of his secret Intentions, but contented himself with telling 'em that 'twas the part, and ought to be the care of his Friends, and especially of those who had set him upon the Throne, to furnish him with sufficient Power and Authority to maintain the Honor of the Post to which they had advanc'd him, instead of flattering him with the vain show of an empty Ceremony.

Afterwards he open'd his mind more freely to *Larz Anderson*, the *Chancellor*, who was a Person of an obscure Birth, but full of Ambition, of a vast and soaring Genius, cunning and eloquent, and bold in Council. He was Master of a very fruitful Invention in contriving Projects and Expedients, and



and his Mind was always full of great Designs. In his Youth he enter'd into Ecclesiastical Orders, and the Interest of his Friends joyn'd to his own Abilities procur'd him the Dignity of *Arch-Deacon* of the Church of *Siregnex*. He had also some prospect of obtaining the Bishoprick, for there were some who Voted for him at the Election ; but he was so discourag'd by the Rubs he met with in that Way to Preferment, that he resolv'd to try his Fortune in another Road, and left the Church for the Court, where his Merit was quickly taken notice of, and procur'd him the Esteem of *Gustavus*. His skill in the Laws of the Country, and his Resentment against the Clergy for excluding him from a Bishoprick were sufficient Qualifications to recommend him to the Favour of that Prince, who wanted a proper Instrument to humble an Order of Men whom he both fear'd and suspected. That wise Monarch having found so fit a Person for the Executing of his Designs, gave him several Distinguishing marks of his Esteem, and of the Confidence he plac'd in him, and advanc'd him to the Dignity of *Chancellor*. At last perceiving that his Friends urg'd him with so much earnestness to hasten the Ceremony of his *Coronation*, he told that Minister that he cou'd not look upon himself as Sovereign of Sweden, so long as the Bishops were Masters of so many Forts, and retain'd the Possession of those Lands and Revenues which his Predecessors had alienated from the Crown to enrich the secular and regular Clergy. But at the same time he acknowledged that he was afraid the least Attempt upon the Priviledge of the Church wou'd occasion new disorders in the State, and that the *Swedes* out of their blind Obedience and Respect to their Spiritual Guides, wou'd accuse him of profaneness for challenging his own property, and imagine him to be Guilty of a Crime against Religion for seizing on those

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those Lands and Treasures, which they believ'd were consecrated to God, tho' they serv'd only to maintain the Luxury and Vanity of idle and seditious Persons, who were always ready to sacrifice the public Interest to their Ambition.

Anderson, who was possess'd with the new Doctrin that was propagated by *Luther*, and perhaps look'd upon *Religious Controversies* as mere *Philosophical Problems*, endeavour'd, like a Politic Courtier, to confirm his Master in a Design, which he perceiv'd was agreeable to him. He told him, that he saw no reason why he shou'd make the least scruple to oblige the Clergy to contribute for the Defence of the Kingdom, and even in case of necessity to seize those Lands or Revenues which they possess'd by virtue of Legacies or Donations; that the *Church* was not confin'd to the *Clergy*, but included the whole Body of the *Faithful*; that in the pure and unspotted Infancy of the Church, and in those happy Days when that Name was common to the whole Assembly of Christians, those Riches and Revenues that are at present appropriated to the *Clergy* were possess'd in Common by the *People*, who bestow'd 'em on public Uses, and especially for the Relief of the Poor; that the Name of *Church* was afterwards claim'd by the *Clergy* as their peculiar Priviledge, that under the specious pretext of that Title they might make themselves Masters of those Revenues, of which they were only the Stewards and Distributors; that the Estates and Revenues of the *Laiety* ought to be reputed the Patrimony of the Church as well as those of the *Clergy*; that the Clergy was the smallest part of the Church, and ought to contribute proportionably for the security and preservation of the Government by which they were protected.

That, however, he acknowledg'd there was need of some more specious and plausible Pretexts than the

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the Public Good, and the Interest of the State, to keep the People from being deluded by the crafty Insinuations of the Priests and Monks, who made it their business to perswade 'em, that their Estates were as sacred as their Profession, and that the Blow which seem'd only to fall upon the Patrimony of the Church, was really aim'd at their Religion. That the only way to prevent the fatal Consequences of the Authority of the Clergy, and the Superstition of the People, was to make use of the Reformation that was set on foot by *Luther*, and began to make a considerable Progress in the Kingdom. That under pretext of propagating a Doctrine that was equally opposite to the Temporal Power, and the excessive Riches of the Clergy, he might afterwards take occasion to seize upon the Forts that belong'd to the Bishops, and re-unite to the Demesns of the Crown those Lands and Estates that were alienated by the Imprudent Zeal of his Predecessors.

That tho' Pope *Leo X.* had condemn'd *Luther*, 'twas well known that famous Doctor had only incur'd the Indignation of the Court of *Rome*, by exposing its Corruption and Abuses. That, after all, tho' his Opinions might be look'd upon as indifferent Points of Controversie by other Nations, till the Difference shou'd be decided by a Definitive Sentence of the Church in a General Council; they were of the highest Importance for the Establishment of his Authority in *Sweden*, and for the successful Execution of his Designs.

That the People, who were already sufficiently prepar'd and prepossess'd by the *Lutheran* Doctors, wou'd be pleas'd to see the Clergy depriv'd of their vast Estates, especially if at the same time care were taken to lessen the Taxes that lay so heavy upon 'em. That if the Gentry were put in possession of the Lands that were alienated by their Ancestors, they wou'd never be tempted to oppose a Doctrine that tended

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to enrich their Families. That the greatest part of the Regular Clergy were weary of their Confinement, notwithstanding the magnificence of their Prisons, and wou'd gladly profess a Religion that suffer'd 'em to enjoy all the pleasures and advantages of Society; That the Inferior Clergy wou'd be easily perswaded to shake off the burdensom Yoke of a forc'd Celibacy, and wou'd chearfully embrace so favourable an Opportunity to exchange their Scandalous Libertinism for Lawful Matrimony. That the Bishops wou'd perhaps make use of their Power and Authority to oppose an Alteration in which they were so nearly concern'd; but that there had been a great and happy Change in the Face of Affairs since the Reign of King *Cannison*, and that they were no longer able to levy War against their Sovereign. That he knew not whether it might not serve to promote, instead of retarding, the Accomplishment of his Designs, if those Prelates shou'd obstinately persist in the old Religion. That there were but few of that Order in the Kingdom; and that 'twou'd be an easie task to remove or banish 'em, whereas if they shou'd embrace *Lutheranism*, they might pretend, by Marrying, to erect their Bishopricks into Secular Principalities, and consequently deprive him of the most important Advantage he hop'd to draw from the Establishment of *Lutheranism* in his Kingdom:

That, after all, the Archbishop, *John Magnus*, was of a timorous and irresolute Temper; that he had neither Relations nor Interest in the Kingdom, and wou'd willingly suffer himself to be depriv'd of part of his Estate, that he might not be oblig'd to comply with the prevailing Religion. That the new Bishops of *Stregnez* and *Westeras*, whom he had lately preferr'd to these two rich Benefices, were Persons of mean Extraction, and had too little Credit among the People to presume to oppose the

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Will of their Benefactor. That the Bishops of *Vexio* and *Abos* were scarce acquainted with the difference betwixt the *Roman-Catholicks* and the *Lutherans*; and that he was sure their Curiosity wou'd never prompt 'em to study so intricate a Controversie. That tho' it cou'd not be supposed that such Illiterate Prelates wou'd be much concern'd at the Alteration of Religion, they wou'd probably take the alarm at the first attempt that shou'd be made to lessen their Revenue; but that the Irregularity of their Lives had render'd 'em so obnoxious to the public Censure, that they wou'd never dare to provoke the Indignation of their Sovereign, and that they wou'd be easily prevail'd with to comply with any Regulation that shou'd not disturb 'em in the Enjoyment of their beloved Pleasures. That there remain'd only the Bishops of *Lincoping* and *Scara* who either wou'd or cou'd oppose his Designs; That 'twas true they were extreamly proud of the Dignity of their Function, jealous of their least Privileges, obstinate in their Opinions, always inclin'd to favour the *Danish* Faction, notwithstanding the dismal Effects of King *Christsiern's* Barbarity, and that they wou'd infallibly endeavour to gain the Esteem and Affection of the People by a steadfast Zeal to the Doctrine of the Church; but, as soon as *Lutheranism* shou'd be establish'd by the Estates, 'twou'd be an easie matter to make the Resistance of those Prelates pass for a Crime, and to banish 'em out of the Kingdom with all the most obstinate Defenders of the old Religion. He concluded with representing to the King, That the Founders of Kingdoms and Empires are always oblig'd to struggle with extraordinary Difficulties; but that those very Princes who can hardly establish their Authority by Force, and conquer the Aversion of the People, are afterwards obey'd by Inclination, and look'd upon as the Fathers of their Country.

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The Chancellor had no sooner ended his Discourse but he found that it had all the success he cou'd desire, for *Gustavus* cou'd not resist the prevailing force of those Reasons which were so agreeable to his secret Designs, and so exactly suted to the Scheme he had drawn for the Establishment and Security of his Government. He foresaw that the Emperor's Interest with the Pope wou'd hinder that Pontif from declaring in his favour; and therefore resolv'd to give the first blow, and to make him incapable of hurting him, since he cou'd not expect his Assistance. And since he perceiv'd that the introducing of *Lutheranism* wou'd be the most effectual Expedient to ruin the Pope's Authority, his Judgment was easily determin'd to follow the Bias of his Inclination; and he concluded, That he might without a Crime embrace an Opinion that was so favourable to the Prerogative of the Crown, which most Sovereigns either do not or will not distinguish from the Good of the State.

He wou'd have willingly own'd the Doctrine of *Luther*, if he had not consider'd that the bare Changing of his Religion was not only insufficient for the entire accomplishment of his Designs, but that so sudden and preposterous a Change might be attended with dangerous Consequences. He was sensible, that during the Infancy of an unsettl'd Government so important a Change shou'd always be begun by the People, and that the Prince shou'd afterwards seem to embrace the prevailing Religion out of meer Complaisance to his Subjects. Besides, he cou'd not suppose that all the *Swedes* wou'd be perswaded without reluctance to follow their Master's Example, since they were not sway'd by the same Motives either of Interest or Inclination; and from thence he concluded, that the Alteration of Religion wou'd not be the Work of one year, by reason of the great and unavoidable Difficulties which,

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which he foresaw wou'd obstruct, or at least retard the Execution of that Design.

He knew that there were many Lords in the Kingdom, and even at the Court, that wou'd oppose such an Attempt, and forsake his Party and Interest, as soon as he shou'd discover the least inclination to abolish the ancient Religion. But on the other hand, he cou'd not endure to bear the whole burthen of the Government, and to be perpetually harass'd with all the Trouble and Care that is inseparably annex'd to the Management of Affairs of State, while the strongest Forts, the Revenues and Rights of the Crown, and the best Estates in the Kingdom, were securely possess'd by an Order of Men, who instead of improving their Power and Riches for the good of the Society of which they were Members, made use of those Advantages to oppose the just Designs of their Sovereign, and to encourage and assist the Enemies of the Nation. Such Considerations as these induc'd him to expose himself to all the Dangerous and uncertain Events of a Civil War, and even to hazard his Person and his Crown rather than to content himself with the enjoyment of a Titular Sovereignty: Or, if we may venture upon a Conjecture that seems to be more agreeable to his Character and Circumstances, he was so confident of his own Power, and of the Fidelity and Affection of his Subjects, that he thought 'twou'd be an easie Task to reassume the possession of a part of those Estates that were alienated in favour of the Clergy, under the specious pretext of Reforming the Church, and Securing the Interest of the State.

Gustavus stood in need of all his Policy to manage so nice a Game; and it must be acknowledg'd, that he acted on this occasion with all the Prudence and Dexterity of a compleat Statesman. He was extremely careful to conceal his Thoughts concerning the new Opinions of *Luther*; but at the same time

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he gave secret Orders to Chancellor *Anderson*, not only to protect *Olaus Petri*, and the rest of the *Lutheran* Doctors, but also to invite others from the Universities of *Germany*, that *Lutheranism* might make a quicker and more successful progress thro' the several Provinces of the Kingdom.

In the mean time *Olaus* and the other *Lutherans*, relying upon the Chancellor's Protection, propagated their Master's Doctrine with extraordinary Care and Application, explaining and recommending it daily in their Sermons with incredible Zeal and Diligence. Most of these new Doctors were superior to the *Swedish* Clergy, both in Learning and Eloquence; and these Advantages were very considerably improv'd by a certain Air of Regularity and Strictness in all their Actions, which always attends the first Heats of a Reformation. They were heard with pleasure by the People, who are always extremely fond of Novelties that put 'em to no Charge, and only tend to the humbling of their Superiors. Nor were they less favourably receiv'd by the Courtiers and principal Nobility, who perceiving the Success that attended the Labours of these Ministers, and that the Opinions which they endeavour'd to introduce seem'd only to threaten the Prelates, began to treat 'em with a more than ordinary Complaisance, and to consider their Arguments with Attention.

While these Doctors were propagating their Opinions from the Pulpit, *Gustavus* made it his Business to find out some specious Pretexs to destroy the Power of the Bishops and Clergy. In pursuance of this Design he began with the Inferior Ecclesiastics, issuing out several Declarations against the Curates, and in Favour of the People; that the Laity might be oblig'd by Interest to favour and promote these innovations, and that the People might be accusom'd by degrees to see the Clergy depriv'd of their Privileges,

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The *Swedish* Curates had assum'd a Right to impose a kind of Tribute or Tax upon certain public Sins; and with a great deal of Rigour exacted considerable Fines from those who took the Diversion of Hunting or Fishing in the time of Divine Service, abus'd the Women to whom they were contracted before the Solemn Celebration of the Sacrament of Marriage. This Privilege was abrogated by one of the King's Declarations, and the Priests were prohibited to exact such Impositions for the future. By another Declaration they were forbidden to use Ecclesiastical Censures against their private Enemies or Creditors. The Bishops and their Officials had extended the Jurisdiction of the Church so far beyond its ordinary limits, that they claim'd a Right to take Cognizance of all sorts of Affairs that had the least relation to Religion. An Oath made in a Bargain, the Interposition of a Clergyman which was frequently beg'd for that purpose, or the least Dispute that arose about a Contract of Marriage, were reckon'd sufficient Grounds to remove a Cause from the Ordinary Courts of Justice; and by these and such like Means the Clergy were become extremely powerful and formidable. But *Gustavus* abrogated that Jurisdiction intirely; insinuating at the same time, that the Hearing and Determination of Suits was inconsistent with the Function and Duty of a Clergyman; and by the same Declaration 'twas ordain'd, That the Clergy shou'd be oblig'd to refer the Decision of their Differences to Secular Judges, who were authoriz'd to take Cognizance of all the Affairs in the Kingdom.

At last he issu'd out a Declaration against the Bishops themselves, by which they were expressly prohibited for the future to enter upon, or pretend any Right to the Estates or Inheritance of the Clergymen within their respective Diocesses, to the prejudice of their Lawful Heirs; and by the same Edict

1525. these Prelates were requir'd to produce before the Senate the Rights or Titles by vertue of which they exacted Fines and Forfeitures. Thus he continu'd to publish Declarations, one after another, according to the progress which *Lutheranism* made in the Kingdom: and the several Steps he made in the Carrying on of his secret Design excited the Curiosity and Attention of all his Subjects, who began to interpret his Actions according to their several Interests or Inclinations. The Lords and Gentlemen, without giving themselves the Trouble to examine the new Doctrine that was preach'd to 'em, were pleas'd to see the King proceed so vigorously against a Party whom they hated; and ev'n some of the most considerable Persons of the Kingdom began to declare openly for the *Lutherans*, hoping by these Innovations to recover those Estates which their Ancestors bequeath'd for the Foundation of so many rich Convents, of which the Kingdom was full.

Nor were these Declarations unwelcome to those among the Commonalty who understood the World, and were in some measure acquainted with the Management of publick Affairs. They cou'd not blame the King for moderating the power of the Clergy, and abolishing those Extortions that were said to have been invented at the Court of *Rome*, and cunningly introduc'd under the specious Titles of Indulgences, Tythes, and Alms. But that which added most to their Satisfaction, was, that the King had put a stop to the Vexatious and Litigious proceedings of the Bishops Officials, and other Ministers, who oppress'd the Laity with their pretended Corrections and Ecclesiastical Censures.

In the mean time the Regular and Secular Clergy look'd upon these Regulations as so many Sacrilegious Incroachments upon their Authority; nor cou'd they endure to be thus disturb'd in the possession of their Rights and Privileges. But the King, with-

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out regarding the impotent Resentments of a weaken'd Enemy, sent his Troops into Winter Quarters upon their Lands, which none of his Predecessors had ever attempted to do, and ev'n quarter'd his Horse in the Abbies and Monasteries, under pretext that the Peasants were ruin'd by the War, but in effect to keep the Monks in Awe by the presence of his Soldiers. Afterwards he order'd his Officers of Justice to examine the Title of the *Carthusians*; to the rich Monastery of *Gripsholm*, which was founded by his Ancestors; and the Monks were oblig'd to prove the Donation or Acquisition of the Lands they enjoy'd. Since they cou'd not produce any Legal Title or Charter to entitle 'em to the possession of those Estates, they had recourse to Prescription; alledging, that they ow'd the greatest part of their Revenues to the Piety of the Lords of *Vasa*, but had lost their Charters during the Confusion and Disorder of the Civil Wars. But the King over-ruling their Plea, seiz'd on those Lands that belong'd originally to his Family, and expell'd the Monks out of their Convent, under pretext that it was built upon his Estate; tho' perhaps he was glad of this opportunity to satisfy his private Revenge, by punishing those Monks for refusing to admit him into their House when he was persecuted by *Christiern*. And it may be probably suppos'd, that he took this way to discover the Inclinations of the People, and at the same time to excite the Nobility to follow his Example, by resuming the possession of the Lands that were alienated by their Ancestors.

The *Lutheran* Doctors, to gain the Favour of the principal Noblemen, insinuated to 'em upon all Occasions, that they had been too long the Bubbles of the Clergy; that Purgatory had already cost 'em the best part of their Estates; that the Monks had made use of that Holy Cheat to wheedle 'em out of those vast Revenues that were spent so Luxuriously in the

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Convents; that they ought to seize upon those usurp'd Estates, without dreading the pretended Violence of an imaginary Fire; and that supposing there were really such a place as Purgatory, 'twould be ridiculous to imagine, that the Torment cou'd be mitigated by the Prayers or Songs of a few Monks.

At the same time *Olaus* publish'd a Version of the New Testament into the *Swedish* Language, which was only a Translation of the *German* Copy that was written by *Luther*. *Olaus's* Disciples took care to Recommend this Work in their Sermons, extolling the Value and Necessity of it, and spreading it industriously thro' the whole Kingdom. They concluded, that it wou'd be favourably receiv'd by the People, and especially by the Women, who wou'd be extreemly fond of a Book that made 'em Judges of the Points that were controverted by Divines; and that they wou'd rather submit to the Authority of some Passages that were purposely accommodated to the new Doctrines, than give themselves the trouble of inquiring into the Fidelity of the Translation.

The *Swedish* Bishops perceiv'd that this Work proceeded from the same Hands that had begun to invade their Privileges; and that the Attempt which was made upon their Religion wou'd end in the Ruin of their Dignity. They observ'd in all the Steps that were made by the King, a Series of Projects and Designs, which they neither cou'd nor durst oppose. However since he took Care to conceal his Inclination to *Lutheranism*, and continu'd in the External profession of the Catholick Religion, they were afraid to express their Suspicions of his Sincerity, and resolv'd to dissemble as he did.

In pursuance of this Resolution, they went in a Body to attend his Majesty, and intreated that *Olaus* and his Followers might be prosecuted as notorious
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Hereticks. The Archbishop of *Upsal*, who spoke in the Name of the rest, acquainted the King, that *Olau's* Translation was only a Copy of *Luther's*, which was condemn'd by the Holy See, and by the most celebrated Universities of *Europe*. Afterwards he represented to him in few words, and with a great deal of Modesty and Respect, that they cou'd not forbear concluding, that his Majesty's late Declarations were contriv'd by the Enemies of their Religion, since they were absolutely inconsistent with the Immunities of the Church, and even with the Privileges of the Nation. And therefore he pray'd him, in the Name of the whole *Swedish* Clergy, to revoke those Edicts; and Exhorted him in pathetick and respectful Terms, to vouchsafe his Protection to the Establish'd Religion and its Ministers.

The King reply'd, That since the Clergy had seiz'd on the Lands and Revenues of the Crown during the Civil Wars, they cou'd not blame his Officers for making an exact Enquiry into their Usurpations, nor find fault with him for requiring a Re-stitution of what had been either taken from him, or unjustly alienated. As for *Olau*, he told 'em with a seeming Indifference, that he wou'd readily suffer the Law to be executed either upon him or any of his Subjects that shou'd be convicted of Heresie; but that he cou'd not deny him the Justice to hear him before they proceeded to pronounce Sentence against him; adding, that he had always heard an advantageous Character of his Life and Conversation; That the Accusations which were brought against him might proceed from the Envy and Jealousie of his Brethren; And, That 'twas the usual Custom of Divines to brand all those who differ'd from 'em in Opinion with the odious Name of Hereticks, tho' their Controversies were frequently grounded on frivolous Questions of Scholastic Divinity that were not essential to Religion.

1525. The Archbishop being equally troubl'd and surpriz'd to see that the King look'd upon their Controversie with *Olaus* as a meer insignificant Quarrel betwixt Idle and conceited Divines, offer'd with some Heat to demonstrate before his Majesty and the whole Senate, that *Olaus* was guilty of several pernicious Errors, without considering that such Writnesses are always the Judges of the Conferences that are held before 'em. The King, who was willing to take this Occasion to accustom his Subjects by his Example to examine Religious Controversies, accepted the Archbishop's proposal; and the Conference was appointed to be held at *Upsal*.

1526. The King, attended by the Senate, and follow'd by all the Court, went thither at the time appointed: *Olaus* appear'd in the Assembly with all the confidence that cou'd be expected in a Man who had receiv'd a secret Assurance of his Prince's Protection. The Bishops appointed one *Gallus*, a famous Divine, to oppose him, pretending, that they wou'd not dishonour their Character by disputing with one who ought to have submitted to their Judgment; Tho' perhaps the Sense of their own Weakness was the true Reason that made 'em decline encountering with so Learned and Eloquent an Adversary.

The King having commanded that the Conference shou'd be put in Writing, the two Doctors enter'd into a long Debate concerning Purgatory, Indulgences, Communion under both Kinds, the Celibacy of the Priests, and the Temporal Power and Dignity of the Clergy. They cou'd not so much as agree concerning the Nature of the Proofs that were to be made use of in such cases; for whereas the Catholic Doctor endeavour'd to confirm his Assertions not only by the Authority of the Holy Scripture, but also by Tradition, and the Testimony of the Fathers and Councils; *Olaus* pretended, that the Controversy ought to be decided by the

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Scripture alone, and that his Adversary was oblig'd to prove both the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church by express Passages out of the New Testament.

During the Heat of the Dispute *Olaus* challeng'd his Adversary to produce any passage in the Gospels, or Instance in the Practice and Lives of the Apostles, that gave the Bishops a right to possess Principalities and Secular Dignities, or to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures upon their private Enemies, and meerly for Temporal Concerns. In the mean time he receiv'd the Applauses of the Courtiers, who are always of the Prince's Religion. Some of the Senators ask'd *Gallus*, Whether 'twas possible that the Scripture shou'd not contain all the Proofs that were necessary to defend the Faith which he profess'd? The Catholic Doctor reply'd, that he cou'd not give up the Arguments which he drew from Tradition to vindicate the Practice of the Church in Matters of Discipline, without betraying the Cause he had undertaken to defend; but tho' he shou'd confine himself to the Authority of the Holy Scripture, he protested that he wou'd never allow his Adversary to make use of so unfaithful a Translation as that which he had lately impos'd upon the Public.

Olaus was going to Reply in vindication of himself and his Work, and wou'd certainly have been puzzl'd to find any tolerable Excuse for Copying his Master's Errors, if the King (fearing lest *Gallus* shou'd prove him guilty of Corrupting the Text that he might accommodate it to his Opinions) had not immediately put an end to the Conference, under pretext of obliging the Archbishop to Translate the New Testament, that his Version might be compar'd with that of *Olaus*. He assur'd him, that he wou'd read it with pleasure; and to engage him to comply with his desire, he insisted upon the usefulness of such a Work at a time when the greatest part of the Priests

1426. Priests were scarce acquainted with any other Language than that which was spoken by the People, and were daily observ'd to mistake the true sense of the Scriptures by reason of their ignorance of the *Latin* Tongue. And after he had endeavour'd to enforce his Arguments with some private Careless, he dismiss'd the Prelate with this Assurance, That he wou'd not suffer any thing to be Transacted concerning Religion without his Advice and Approbation.

These plausible appearances of Reason, and the obliging Force of *Gustavus's* Kindness prevail'd at last with the Archbishop to call a Meeting of the Clergy at *Stockholm*, where the Six Bishops of the Kingdom, and the Persons of the greatest Note of the Secular and Regular Clergy, were summon'd to appear. He endeavour'd to convince 'em of the necessity of publishing a Translation of the New Testament in opposition to that of *Olav*. He put 'em in mind of the King's desire, and added, that a chearful compliance with his Majesty's pleasure wou'd be very acceptable to him, and keep him from forsaking the Communion of the Church. This Motion was oppos'd by the Bishop of *Lincoping* with a great deal of vigor: He entreated 'em to consider, that Christ thought fit to leave the Interpretation of the Scripture to the Bishops and Doctors of his Church, that the ignorant and heedless People might not be engag'd in dangerous and unprofitable Controversies: That, in the present Juncture, a Translation of the Sacred Text wou'd serve only to advance the progress which *Lutheranism* had already begun to make in the Kingdom, by furnishing the People with a specious pretext to assume the power of Judging and Determining Controversies; that 'twas neither the Duty nor the Interest of the Church to submit to an Examination; That he had never approved the Conference at *Upsal*; That the

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most effectual way to put a stop to the growing Disorder, would be to proceed immediately to the Excommunication of *Olaus* and his Followers; That the Bishop of *Stregnez*, his Diocesan, ought to secure his Person, and either bring him to a Tryal, or send him to *Rome*; and that such Hereticks ought only to be confuted with Fire and Sword.

But notwithstanding these Remonstrances, the Archbishop would not irritate the King by denying so just a Request, which he had in some measure promis'd to grant at the Conference at *Upsal*. Nor could he be prevail'd with to alter his Resolution by all the Arguments of the Bishop of *Lincoping*, who told him in plain Terms before the whole Assembly, that his excessive Complaisance for the Court would prove fatal to the establish'd Religion.

The Regular and Secular Clergy divided the Work betwixt them, that it might be the sooner compleated. The latter undertook the Translation of the Four Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, and *St. Paul's* Epistles; The Epistles of *St. Peter*, *St. John*, *St. James*, and *St. Jude*, were allotted to the Mendicant Friars; and the *Carthusians* were appointed to Translate the *Apocalyps*. Puffendorf.

In the mean time *Olaus*, to celebrate the Victory which he pretended to have obtain'd over his Adversary at *Upsal*, printed an Account of the Conference, in which he took care to represent his own Arguments in the most advantageous manner. Not long after he Married publicly, without regarding the Rules of his Profession, to confirm the Doctrine which he preach'd by his own practice. And so inviting an Example was quickly imitated by many of his Brethren, who publicly assum'd the Name of *Lutherans* as a protection against the Censures of their Superiors on the score of their irregular Marriages. Most of the Lords procur'd some of those Ministers to preach in their Castles; some out of
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1526. meer Curiosity, and a desire to hear their Eloquent Discourses, others out of Complaisance to the King, and perhaps also in order to the obtaining of a share in the Church Lands.

Gustavus was extremely pleas'd to see the new Religion make so quick and so successful a progress; he concluded, that he might at last venture to put off the Mask, and to begin the Execution of his secret Designs with seizing on part of those Estates that were possess'd by the Clergy. In pursuance of that Resolution, he call'd a Meeting of the Senators at *Stockholm*, upon certain Advices that were brought from time to time by his Order, and industriously spread thro' the Kingdom, that the Emperor was preparing to march at the Head of all the Forces of the Empire to put King *Christiern* in possession of the Northern Crowns.

As soon as the Senators were assembl'd at *Stockholm*, he intreated 'em to begin their Deliberations with Securing the Kingdom against the Attempts of so formidable an Enemy. These Lords, who for the most part were his Creatures, soon perceiv'd his Meaning, and accommodating their Answer to his secret Intentions, replied, That the People were harass'd with the late tedious War; That the Merchants of *Lubeck* and the other *Hans-Towns* would soon compleat the Ruin of the Kingdom by the Privilege they had extorted to engross the whole Trade without paying any Customs; That 'twas impossible to raise Money without opening the Ports of the Kingdom to the Merchants of other Nations; but that they were oblig'd in Honour and Justice to pay the City of *Lubeck* before they cou'd proceed to abolish those Privileges, that were granted instead of Interest for the Money and Troops with which the Regency assisted 'em against the *Danes*; and that 'twas equally plain, that the Crown of *Sweden* was indispensably oblig'd, and at present utterly
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unable to satisfy the Demands of that Republic.

Then the King, under pretext of easing the People of a Burthen which they were no longer able to support, order'd the Chancellor to propose the appropriating of Two thirds of the Tythes, that belong'd for the most part to the Bishops and rich Abbots, for the Maintenance and Subsistence of his Troops. At the same time that cunning Minister insinuated, that the superfluous Plate, and ev'n the useless Bells of the Churches might be sold for the payment of the Regency of *Lubeck*, by which means those unhappy Privileges might be abolish'd, that were equally pernicious to the Prince and to the People.

Gustavus had already establish'd his Power and Authority upon such firm and solid Foundations, that the Deliberations of the Senate were in a manner nothing else but a meer empty Ceremony. The Expedient he propos'd was approv'd by all the Senators with a great deal of Submission, and a Solemn Act was immediately pass'd according to these Resolutions; by virtue of which the King appointed Commissioners, who seiz'd upon all the superfluous Plate and Bells that they found in the Churches, and at the same time laid up in publick Magazines the Tythes and Corn that were appointed for the Subsistence of the Army.

The Bishops and all the Clergy were surpriz'd with so terrible and unexpected a Blow. They saw the Throne possess'd by a Wise and mighty Prince, who was a declar'd Enemy to the Interest and Authority of the Church, and had the Art to disguise his Hatred and Designs against 'em under the specious pretext of the Publick Good. The Archbishop of *Upsal* represented their Grievances to his Majesty, and acquainted him, that his Officers made such Havock in all the Churches, that they could not have

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have expected a more Barbarous Treatment from the most furious Hereticks or Fanaticks.

The King, who had now begun to discover his secret Intentions, replied in a very imperious manner, That what had been seiz'd by his Order, wou'd be better employ'd for the Defence of the Kingdom, than for maintaining the Pride and Luxury of the Clergy: After which he dismiss him, without deigning to give him a longer Audience.

Most of the Zealous Catholicks in the Kingdom were extremely exasperated by the King's Answer, and the violent Proceedings of his Officers: The Priests, but especially the Monks, exclaim'd against him with all the extravagance of Spite and Fury, and to render him odious to the People, dispers'd Seditious and Scurrilous Libels, in which they branded him with the hateful Title of an Excommunicated Heretick; and even some were so bold as to propose the making void of his Election. The Rabble, who are always ready to take Fire upon the least pretext of Religion, espous'd the Quarrel of the Clergy with a great deal of Heat and Fury: The Peasants, especially, cou'd not endure to part with their Bells, and Silver Crosses, which were oftentimes the principal Object of their Devotion. These wild and savage People were the fittest Tools to execute the Resentments of the Priests, who perswaded 'em, that all the Steps the King had made were the fatal Advances of an unlimited and tyrannical power, and wou'd infallibly end in the utter subversion of their Religion and Liberty. Some of 'em took up Arms, pursu'd the King's Officers, and having recover'd their Bells, brought 'em back to their Villages in a kind of Triumph.

About this time of the year there was a great Fair held at *Upsal*, with an extraordinary Concourse of People from all the Provinces. This was a sort of Convention of the Estates of the Peasants, who usually

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Finally, took this Occasion to deliberate concerning their Trade, the Affairs and Interest of each Province, and the Differences that arose from time to time about the preservation of their Liberty and Privileges. The Male contents, resolving to make the best use of so favourable an Opportunity, made it their Business to engage the Leading Persons among the Peasants to demand the Revocation of the late Edict concerning the Tythes and Church-Bells.

'Twas one of *Gustavus's* Maxims, that a Prince can never bestow his Money better than upon the Entertainment of a sufficient number of cunning Informers, who pry into every Corner, and are equally careful to conceal their own Designs, and to discover those of others. By these Spies, whom he kept constantly in pay, he was inform'd, that the Priests and Monks had engag'd the Peasants to take up Arms at *Upsal*-Fair for the Recovery of their Bells; and therefore to prevent the impending danger, he march'd thither at the Head of a Body of Horse.

The Mutineers were surpriz'd at his unexpected Arrival; they cou'd not bear the imperious Fierceness of his Words and Looks, and the boldest of 'em began to dread the Effects of his Indignation. There was a certain Air of Grandeur and Authority that accompanied all his Actions; and on this Occasion he spoke like a Prince that had a Right to Command, and both wou'd and cou'd maintain his Prerogative. He ask'd 'em, in a fierce and disdainful Tone, who had intrusted 'em with the Care of the Government, by what Authority they pretended to Censure the Decrees of the Senate, and whether they had forgotten that the Bishops and the Clergy were more dangerous and implacable Enemies to their Country, than the very *Danes*. Then to gain 'em by the most winning Arguments, and to convince 'em, that their own Interest oblig'd 'em to comply with his desire;

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desire; He assur'd them, That he only aim'd at their Ease and Advantage in approving the late Decree of the Senate concerning the Tythes; That since 'twas absolutely necessary in the present Juncture to pay the Sum that was owing to the Regency of *Lubeck*, he chose rather to force the Clergy to some reasonable Contribution, than to overwhelm and oppress the People with new Taxes and Impositions. Thus having fram'd his Discourse to work upon the strongest and ev'n the most opposite Passions, he concluded, That either Fear or Interest wou'd oblige 'em to submit to his Will. But instead of returning a respectful Answer, the Seditious Rabble began to cry out with a great deal of Fury and Vehemence, That they wou'd never suffer their Religion to be alter'd, nor their Bells and Church Plate to be taken away: And the King was so incens'd at their Boldness and Insolency, that he gave Orders to his Soldiers to fire upon the Mutineers, who observing that the Troopers were just ready to give Fire, fell upon their Knees and beg'd his Majesty's Pardon. Most of the Ringleaders, and principal Authors of the Tumult, were secur'd, while the rest hid themselves in the Croud, or escap'd in the dark. Thus all that vast Multitude of People was dispers'd in an Instant, and the Peasants return'd home with an awful Idea of a Prince who was so well acquainted with the Art of Governing, and cou'd so easily extort Obedience from the boldest Rebels.

This Mutinous Assembly was no sooner dispers'd by his presence, but a new Plot was laid to dethrone him. A certain Groom, call'd *Hans*, of the Parish of *Biorechastat* in *Westmania*, form'd a Design infinitely above the Meaness of his Condition. His Ambition aspiring to no less than a Crown, made him personate the Eldest Son of the deceas'd Administrator, tho' that young Prince died a year before; for the disaffected Party perswaded him, that the People,

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People, who were generally incens'd against *Gusta.* 1526.
 wou'd choose rather to advance him to the Throne, than suffer any Change in the establish'd Religion.

The Impostor was a handsom and daring Person; he spoke with a great deal of Freedom and Ease; and had a Nobler and more graceful Meen than was suitable to his Birth and Education. He travell'd thro' the Province of *Dalecarlia* under the Name of *Nils Steno*, appearing only in the remotest places that had least Communication with the Court. He seem'd to be always upon his Guard, never stay'd long in one place; and when he was at any time prevail'd with to shew himself to the People, he affected a serious and reserv'd Behaviour, and appear'd among 'em with a great deal of seeming Caution. He gave out, that *Gustavus* cou'd not hide the Fury that sparkl'd in his Eyes when he beheld the Person whose Right he had usurp'd; that he cou'd not bear the secret reproaches of his Conscience for the Injury he had done to the Son of his Benefactor; that in the transports of his Rage, that violent Prince had several times laid his Hand upon his Poniard with a design to kill him; and that the Princess, his Mother, fearing that the Usurper of her Husband's Power might at last prove the Murderer of her Son, had advis'd him to retire from a place where his Life was in perpetual danger.

Then wou'd he ask the People, in the most moving and pathetic Terms, Whether such a Barbarous and Inhumane Treatment was a suitable recompence for the many and important Offices the whole Nation had receiv'd from his Father? And, Whether they cou'd endure to see an Usurper Butcher the Son of a Prince who had so often expos'd, and at last lost his Life in the Defence of their Privileges? And so well had this Cunning Impostor learn'd the Art of Counterfeiting the most tender Passions, that

as often as the Name of *Steno* was mention'd he burst forth into Tears.

It was his usual custom to fall upon his Knees, and conjure the Peasants to pray to God for the Soul of the Prince, his Father, and to say each of 'em a *Patris Noster* in his behalf, while they were suffer'd to believe that there was a Purgatory. Then would he exclaim against the present Government, and call *Gustavus* an Usurper, and a Heretic, that had renounc'd the Faith of his Ancestors. And to render his pretended Persecutor more odious to a People that were superstitiously fond of their ancient Customs, he accus'd him of a dangerous and insupportable Vanity, in endeavouring to distinguish himself from his Predecessors by the Magnificence of his Apparel; and assur'd 'em, that he wou'd at last oblige 'em to change their Habit as well as their Religion.

'Tis thought that this Design was contriv'd by the Bishop of *Uppsala*, and other Leading Persons among the Clergy, who hop'd by this means to occasion a Revolt in some of the Provinces, and perhaps a Revolution in the State. At least, 'tis certain, that both that Prelate and the rest of his Party encourag'd the Impostor, by seeming to believe that he was really the Administrator's Son; and by the secret protection of the Clergy and other disaffected Persons, the Plot was carry'd on with so much vigor and success, that in a little time the pretended Prince was at the Head of an Army, or rather a Tumultuous Rabble of Peasants and indebted Persons, who by reason of the desperate Condition of their Fortune, are always ready to embrace the first opportunity of a Change.

In the mean time *Gustavus* knew not whether he shou'd march against him, or expect the Event of this new Stratagem of his Enemies; for he concluded, that the Rabble wou'd be soon undeceiv'd,

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and return to their own Habitations. He continu'd for some time irresolute, wavering betwixt Fear and Shame : his Courage prompted him to slight so contemptible an Adversary, but at the same time his Prudence suggested to him, that the smallest danger ought not to be neglected, and he was ev'n afraid of strengthening the Rebellion by shewing too visible a Concern about it. At last he resolv'd to make the Administrator's Widow write to the *Dalecarlians* ; and that Princess, in Obedience to his desire, assur'd 'em, by a Letter, that her Son died above a year ago ; That all the Inhabitants of *Stockholm*, who were present at his Funeral, were Witnesses of his death ; and that she had but one young Child living, whom the King brought up with as much Care as if he was his own Son.

This Letter produc'd the desir'd Effect ; for as soon as the Peasants were undeceiv'd they forsook their imaginary Prince, who fearing that they would deliver him up to the King, fled to *Norway*, where he was receiv'd and entertain'd as Prince of *Sweden* by the Archbishop of *Drontheim*, upon the Recommendation of the *Swedish* Bishops to that Prelate. He levy'd Forces in *Norway* by the Archbishop's Interest ; and was both so cunning and fortunate, as to persuade a Lady of the highest Quality in that Country, that he was the rightful Heir of the Crown of *Sweden*, and that it might one day be in his power to make her Daughter a Queen. The Ambitious Lady, dazzl'd with the prospect of a Crown, made her Tenants and Vassals take up Arms in his Defence, furnish'd him with considerable Sums to begin the War, and presented him with a Gold Chain of great value, as a Mark of her Kindness, and a Pledge of the Alliance she intended to contract with him.

The King having receiv'd Advice, that the Impostor was preparing to return to *Sweden*, order'd a Body of Horse to march towards the Frontiers ;

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That Wise and Politick Prince, cou'd not without a secret Jealousie look upon the Union of the *Swedes*, and the prosperity of *Gustavus's* Reign, and wou'd have been glad to have seen *Sweden* embroil'd in a Civil War by the Counterfeit *Steno*. But fearing to irritate so potent an Enemy, when he expected every moment to hear of *Christiern's* Landing, he sent Orders to *Hans* to depart immediately out of his Dominions; and that unhappy Wretch fled from *Norway* to *Rostoc*, a Free and Imperial City in *Mecklenburgh* upon the *Baltic*. As soon as *Gustavus* was inform'd of the place of his Retreat, he sent to the Magistrates of that City to require 'em to deliver up the Impostor, and threaten'd to stop all their Ships that shou'd be found in the Ports of his Kingdom, if they refus'd to comply with so just a desire. The Magistrates of *Rostoc*, who were neither able nor willing to protect such an abandon'd Wretch, order'd his Head to be cut off; by which Execution they put an end to *Gustavus's* Fears, and broke all the Measures of his disaffected Subjects.

Tho' the Clergy had not appear'd openly in this Revolt, the King was fully convinc'd that they wou'd have infallibly declar'd for the Impostor, if his Attempt had been attended with success. He knew that they were his most dangerous Enemies, and that nothing but the fear of his power restrain'd 'em from breaking out into a Rebellion. The Bishops exhorted the Priests and the inferior Clergy to keep the People steady in the profession of their ancient Religion; for they were sensible that they wou'd be depriv'd of the best part of their Reve-

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ues as soon as *Lutheranism* shou'd be establish'd in the Kingdom. Thus the whole Body of the Clergy was put into a Ferment by the powerful Motives of Religion and Interest. The Monks, and especially the begging Friars, ran thro' all the Provinces, under pretext of imploring the Charitable Assistance of the People for their Subsistence, but in effect to foment the Discontents of those who murmur'd against the Government. They made sure of their Friends, influenc'd their Superstitious Devotoes, form'd Cabals in every Village, and spoke so disrespectfully of their Sovereign, as if their pretended Zeal for the Defence of the Catholick Faith cou'd have justified such a Spirit of Rebellion.

The King fearing that the Priests and Monks might at last occasion some dangerous Revolt, resolv'd to gain the Bishops, and especially the Heads and Superiors of the Religious Houses, and to remove such as wou'd not comply with his Desires. Most of the Superiors of the *Mendicant* Friars were *Germans* and Foreigners, who were sent by their General from the principal Universities of *Germany* to visit and govern the *Swedish* Monasteries. The King issu'd out a Declaration, forbidding these Foreigners to meddle with the Government of any Monasteries in his Kingdom, under pretext, that being born Subjects to the Emperor, and other Princes who were Enemies to his Crown and Authority, they incited the Monks and even the People to Rebellious Practices. So that they were oblig'd immediately to leave the Kingdom; and the King took Care to supply the vacant places with such Monks as were intirely devoted to his Interest.

Not long after the King publish'd another Declaration, to restrain the immoderate Liberty which the Monks had assum'd to make Visits, and to Travel abroad from their Convents. By this Edict they were only permitted to go Twice a year out of their

1526. Monasteries, and to stay but a Fortnight at each time to receive the Bounty and Alms of the People. Then the King apply'd himself to the Bishops of *Stregnez* and *Westeras*, who were his Creatures, and assur'd 'em, that in all his Proceedings he had no other Aim than to see the Word of God preach'd and observ'd in his Kingdom, and to banish all the Superstitions and Corruptions that were introduc'd by those who were act'd by a Worldly Interest. He desir'd 'em to surrender the Forts and Castles that were in their possession, promising to make 'em a suitable and advantageous Return, and to advance their Families to the highest Dignities in the Kingdom. These Demonstrations of his Affection, and the Confidence he plac'd in 'em, had so great an influence upon 'em, that they promis'd an absolute Submission to his Will, imagining that their Complaisance cou'd not be reputed Criminal, so long as they abstain'd from the profession of those Doctrines which they look'd upon as erroneous, especially since they cou'd not oppose the King's Designs without exposing themselves to his Indignation. But the Archbishop of *Upsal* resisted the Temptation with a Resolution that cou'd neither be shaken by Promises nor Threats. His Temporal Estate was seiz'd, his Family persecuted, and his Person for some time confin'd in a Convent at *Stockholm*, under pretext that he had a Hand in the Impostor's Rebellion. In a Word, none of those Severities were omitted that are usually inflicted by princes when they wou'd reclaim obstinate Subjects that will not be reduc'd by gentler Methods. But that Prelate persisting in his former Resolution, answer'd those who perswaded him to submit to the King's Will, that he never aspir'd to the Dignity which he possess'd, that the King himself contributed to his Advancement, and that he cou'd not imagine that his Majesty wou'd desire him to express his Gratitude by betraying his Dignity.

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Dignity and Function. The King finding him inflexible, found out an Honourable Way to get rid of him, by conferring upon him the Character of an Ambassador. Under that specious pretext he was order'd forthwith to set out for *Poland* and the King sent him word, that he shou'd receive his Dispatches at *Dantzic*. The Archbishop apprehended presently the Design of this Commission, and was sensible that his pretended Embassy was a real Banishment. However he obey'd the King's Orders with a great deal of submission, and went to *Dantzic* with his Brother *Olaus Magnus*, where he stay'd some time expecting his Dispatches. But finding that *Gustavus* took no notice of him, and receiving daily informations of the progress which *Lutheranism* made in the Kingdom, he went to *Rome* to implore the Pope's Assistance, and to acquaint his Holiness with the danger that threaten'd the Catholick Religion in *Sweden*, under so Politic and so mighty a Prince.

But the present Circumstances of the Pope's Affairs wou'd not suffer him to engage himself in new Troubles, by endeavouring to redress the Grievances of the *Swedish* Clergy. His immoderate Ambition to aggrandize his Family, had made him enter the year before into a League with *Francis* the First King of *France*, and the States of *Venice*, *Florence*, and *Switzerland*, against the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. The Design of the Confederacy was to procure the Liberty of the Children of *France*, who were kept as Hostages in *Spain* after the King's Return, to establish the Holy See in the possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to maintain *Sforza* in the Dukedom of *Milan*, to defend the Liberty of *Italy*, and to oppose the power of the Emperor, who had made himself formidable to all *Europe* since the Battle of *Pavia*.

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That Prince rais'd a bloody War against the Pope, whom he look'd upon as the Author of the League, which vex'd the Pope more than the War it self, and, he solicited the Cardinals to call a general Council, for the good of the Church; which he pretended was extreemly corrupted both in its Head and Members, and stood in need of a thorow Reformation. *Clement* could not endure the mentioning of a Project of that Nature; for he was afraid that the Council wou'd not only regulate the Papal Power, but enter into some Inquiries that might be prejudicial to his Person and Dignity. He was always reputed the Natural Son of *Julian de Medicis*, till Pope *Leo X.* who was of the same Family declar'd him Legitimate, upon the Information of his Mother's Brother, and of certain Monks who depos'd, that there was a Promise of Marriage, tho' such an Evidence was somewhat suspicious in so nice an Affair. 'Tis true there was no positive Law to exclude Bastards from the Pontificate; but 'twas generally believ'd, that so great a Blemish render'd a Man incapable of possessing so Eminent and Sacred a Dignity. And therefore the Pope might justly fear, that the Emperor wou'd insist upon it in a Council, and add his Authority to so specious a Pretext of Justice and Religion. Besides, he knew that the Emperor had a Note in his Hands, which he had given to Cardinal *Colonna* in the Conclave, to purchase his Vote. Thus he saw himself in danger of undergoing the Fate of his Predecessor *Balsazar Cossa*, who during his Pontificate assum'd the Name of *John* the Twenty Third, especially since Pope *Julian* the Second had issu'd out a severe Bull, disannulling and making void all Simoniacal Elections, and putting of it out of the power of the Cardinals, by a Posterior Consent, to make 'em valid.

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But *Charles* the Fifth did not so much aim at the Pope's Person, as at the Principalities that were annex'd to his Dignity. His Design in soliciting so earnestly for a Council, was only to raise up new Enemies against *Clement*, and to make him depend upon his pleasure. He wou'd fain have made himself Master of the Territories of the Church, which lay so convenient for him in the present Juncture of the War for the Communication of the *Milanese* with the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the League which the Pope had lately made with his Enemies furnish'd him with a plausible pretext to seize on 'em.

He order'd his Army to march into the Pope's Territories. His Troops besieg'd and took *Rome* by Storm, where they committed such Barbarities as cou'd scarce have been expected from Infidels. The Massacre of the Inhabitants, and the plundering of their Houses lasted several days, during which the Virgins were ravish'd in their Mothers Arms, and even at the Feet of the Altars; The Monuments of the Apostles, and the Reliques of the Saints were profan'd by the Insolent Avarice of the Soldiers; and the Cardinals and Prelates of the Court of *Rome* were thrown into horrible Dungeons, where they were perpetually alarm'd with the fear of an Ignominious Death to make 'em deliver up the Treasures of the Church. The Pope himself was Arrested and Imprison'd in the Castle of *St. Angelo* by the Emperor's Officers; and that Prince, who affected the Title of Catholick, design'd to send him to *Spain*, as he had done *Francis* the First, that he might almost at the same time triumph over the Two greatest Potentates in *Europe*.

The News of the Pope's Imprisonment, and of the War in which he was engag'd with the Emperor, were very agreeable to the King of *Sweden*. He resolv'd to make use of the Example and Opportunity with which the present Juncture of Affairs

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fairs in *Italy* furnish'd him, to give the last and fatal blow to the Authority of the *Swedish* Bishops. The Wars abroad secur'd him from the Attempts of a Foreign Enemy; and his Power was so great and so well establish'd at home, that he had no reason to fear any Intestine Commotions. He had a considerable Body of standing Forces, that render'd him equally formidable to his Enemies and his Subjects: Most of his Officers were either Foreigners or *Lutherans*, all inseparably united to his Fortune and Interest: The Senate was compos'd of his Creatures, and the *Danes* were become his Allies.

Thus while all *Europe* either dreaded his Power, or look'd upon his Grandeur with Veneration and Respect, he form'd a Design to deprive the Bishops of all the Forts and Castles that were in their possession, and at the same time to make an exact Enquiry after all the Estates which the Secular and Regular Clergy had either purchas'd or usurp'd since the Edict that was publish'd by King *Canutson*. But in the first place he resolv'd to make the Estates of the Kingdom confirm and ratifie his Declarations, and the Decree of the Senate concerning the Tithes.

In pursuance of this Resolution he call'd a Meeting of the Estates at *Westeras*, and employ'd all his Interest and Authority in the Provinces to influence the Elections of the Deputies. He gave secret Orders to a certain number of his Officers to repair to *Westeras* under pretext of soliciting the payment of their Troops; and afterwards went thither in Person, attended by all the Senators, and follow'd by a Crowd of Courtiers, whose presence display'd his Grandeur, and at the same time serv'd to maintain it.

He began to discover his Intentions at an Entertainment to which he invited the Bishops, Senators, Deputies of Provinces, and all the Members of the Estates. The Officers of his Household alter'd the

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usual Order of the Seats at Table : for the chief Places were given to the Temporal Senators, tho' the Bishops claim'd that Honour by Prescription ; and the same precedence was given to the Gentry, who were plac'd above the Deputies of the Inferior Clergy. This Alteration was one of the Stratagems which *Gustavus* Contriv'd to create a Difference betwixt the Senators and the Bishops, and to make the Gentry approve his Design to humble the Clergy.

Alsoon as the Bishops and the Deputies of the Clergy rose from the Table, they retir'd immediately out of the Castle, and shut themselves up in *S. Giles's* Church, where, seeing there were no Witnesses to betray 'em, they began to give a loose to their Resentments, and to consider what might be the reason that prompted the King to put such a public Affront upon 'em.

The Bishop of *Lincoping*, who presided in the Assembly as first Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Upsal*, spoke to this effect : That 'twou'd be needless to urge any other Arguments than their own Observation and Experience to convince 'em, that the King never did any publick Action without some secret Design ; That they ought to look upon the late Affront he had put upon 'em as the fore-runner of more terrible persecutions : That his Majesty's Declarations, the Decrees of the Senate, the violent Proceedings of the King's Officers, his Power and his Armies, were so many fatal Signals of an approaching Storm that threaten'd 'em with the loss of their Liberty and the best part of their Estates. That under the specious Title of the Defender of his Country, that ambitious Prince usurp'd an absolute Authority without regarding the Laws of the Kingdom : That he design'd to seize upon their Forts and Castles, and wou'd afterwards deprive 'em of the share they had so long enjoy'd in the Government ;

1527. vernment; and that these Arbitrary and Illegal Proceedings would at last terminate in the total Subversion of the Establish'd Religion, if those who were like to be the greatest Sufferers by such a Revolution did not prevent the impending Blow by a vigorous and seasonable Resistance.

The Bishop of *Siregnez*, who was gain'd by the Court, reply'd, that they cou'd not indeed be too zealous for the Preservation of Religion, nor too vigilant in opposing its Enemies: But withal he insinuated, that they ought not by an unnecessary and unseasonable Zeal to provoke a great and potent Prince, who in all other respects deserv'd so well of the Nation. He added, that he thought the Clergy shou'd contribute part of their Revenues for the defence of the Kingdom; and that, for his part, he was willing to surrender his Castle to a Monarch who was better able to defend it against the Enemies of his Country than a Clergy-man cou'd pretend to be.

The Bishop of *Lincoping* was too nearly concern'd in that Motion, and of too warm and zealous a Temper, to hear a Discourse of that nature without Indignation. He ask'd the Bishop of *Siregnez*, in an angry Tone, whether he thought he had the same right to dispose of the Revenues of his Church, as of his Patrimonial Estate, and that to a Heretical Prince, or at least an Encourager of Hereticks? He added, that such a Proposal wou'd have sounded better in the Mouth of a flattering Politician; and, at last told him in plain terms, That he spoke more like a Courtier than a Bishop. Then he endeavour'd to soften the offensive harshness of some Expressions which the Heat of his Passion and Zeal had drawn from him. He conjur'd him to adhere to the common Interest of his Brethren, and to contribute his Assistance for the Preservation of their Rights and Dignities. He exhorted the whole Assembly to imitate

imitate their Archbishop, who had generously withstood both the Caresses and Threats of the Court. He added, that on such occasions they ought to remember their Consecration Oath, by which they were oblig'd to venture their Lives in the defence of their Religion, and of the Rights and Privileges of their Churches. In a word, he omitted nothing that might serve to inspire 'em with a Zeal becoming their Function, and to convince 'em, that the severest Punishment which cou'd be inflicted upon 'em for a true Apostolical Constancy wou'd be more glorious to 'em than the Favour and Honours of the Court.

This pathetic Exhortation made so great an Impression upon the rest of the Bishops, and the Deputies of the Clergy, that they resolv'd unanimously to defend and maintain the Privileges of the Church to the utmost of their Power, against all Opposers. The Bishops of *Stregnez* and *Westeras*, as much devoted as they were to the Interests of the Court, durst not oppose a Resolution that seem'd to proceed from so generous a Zeal; and perhaps they were glad to see their Brethren undertake the defence of their Dignities at their own Peril. Thus the Six Bishops of the Kingdom took a solemn Oath to stand by and assist each other in the defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Church against all the Attempts the King shou'd make to violate or abridge 'em. Then they subscrib'd a Bond or Engagement to the same effect, which, after all the rest of the Assembly had also sign'd it, they hid in one of the Tombs in the Church, lest it shou'd fall into the King's Hands.

After the Bishop of *Lincoping* had engag'd the rest of the Prelates, and the Representatives of the Clergy, he endeavour'd to procure the Favour and Assistance of some of the most considerable Persons among the Laity. In pursuance of that design

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design he secur'd the protection of the Great Marshal *Tureiobanson*, whose Birth and Dignity gave him the next Rank to the King, and wou'd have render'd him in all respects the greatest Subject in the Kingdom, if these advantages had not been obscur'd by his want of Merit and excessive Vanity. The illustrious Nobility of his Ancestors was the perpetual subject of his Discourse, and tho' he had neither Courage nor Valour, he thought his Birth and Quality sufficient to supply all his Defects, and to entitle him to the Esteem and Respect of all Mankind. The Bishop of *Lincoping's* Address in the Name of the *Swedish* Clergy flatter'd his Pride and Ambition; he look'd upon that Prelate's Request as a particular Favour, and was so over-joy'd to see himself courted by so potent a Faction, that he promis'd to maintain the Establish'd Religion, and to support the Honour and Interest of the Clergy. But it seems the Bishop was unwilling to depend intirely upon the Great Marshal's Protection; for by his secret Intrigues he obtain'd the same Assurances from some Lords of *West-Gothland*, and several Deputies of the Peasants who combin'd together to oppose the progress of the *Lutherans*.

The next day the Estates met, and the Chancellor open'd the Assembly with a pathetic Discourse concerning the present Juncture of Affairs, and the pressing Exigences of the State. He acquainted 'em, in his Majesty's Name, that there was no establish'd Fund for the Payment of the Army, that most of the Frontier Places were not sufficiently fortify'd, that there were few Ships in the Ports, and that the Arsenals were very ill furnish'd. He endeavour'd to alarm 'em with an exaggerated account of King *Christiern's* Preparations; and put 'em in mind of all the Barbarities which that Prince committed in the Kingdom. He proceeded to inspire 'em with all the most impetuous motions of Revenge and Indignati-

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on against their late Inhumane Oppressor, by a lively and pathetic Description of the miserable State to which *Sweden* was reduc'd under his Tyrannical Dominion. He represented all his Cruelties in the most hideous Colours, and with all the aggravating Circumstances that might serve to heighten their Resentment: He number'd up all the Robberies, Plundering and Sacking of Cities, Assassinations, public Massacres, Burnings and Rapes with which the Kingdom was fill'd in those unhappy days; and enlarg'd the frightful Catalogue with an Account of all the other enormous Barbarities that were either committed or authoriz'd by a Prince who never gave himself the trouble to seek for any Pretext or pretended Reason of State to excuse or cover his Crimes. He assur'd em, that they cou'd not employ their time better than in making some serious Reflexions on the deplorable state of their Country, when they saw their Estates bestow'd on their Oppressors, and when their Persons were expos'd as a Prey to the implacable Fury of their inveterate Enemies, or to the more inhumane and insupportable Barbarity of their treacherous Country-men.

He added, that when their Ruine was almost entirely compleated, and when they cou'd not without an extravagant Presumption entertain the least hope of Relief, 'twas the King alone who form'd the generous design of preventing their utter destruction: That he had brav'd a thousand dangers in carrying on so glorious an Attempt, and had both ventur'd his Life, and spent his Estate in the Defence of his Country. That he had at last triumph'd over all his and their Enemies; and that they ow'd themselves and all they cou'd call their own to his Valour and Conduct. That their late Merciless and irreconcilable Tyrant was preparing to make a Descent with all the Forces of the Emperor, and wou'd quickly be in a condition to re-act his former Barbarities if they

1527. they would suffer themselves to be surpris'd before they had put the Kingdom in a posture of Defence. That the Crown was so impoverish'd by the avarice and usurpations of the Clergy, that the King's Revenues were scarce sufficient to maintain the Charge of the Civil List. That the Nobility and Gentry were ruin'd by the imprudent Bounty of their Ancestors. That the Riches and Possessions of the Clergy exceeded the Revenues of the Crown, and of all the other Estates in the Kingdom. That the Bishops had always made Religion a Cloak for their Avarice, and a meer pretext for establishing their Grandeur and Authority. That by fraudulent and indirect Methods they had made themselves Masters of the richest Fiefs of the Crown, and the principal Forts in the Kingdom. That by degrees growing richer and more potent than their Sovereigns, they had frequently revolted against 'em. That their Ambition had been the fatal Source of all the Civil and Foreign Wars which had harass'd the Kingdom by turns for above 100 years. That the Declard Enemy of the *Swedish* Nation had been often invited into the Kingdom by those seditious Prelates; and that they never scrupl'd to commit the blackest Treason to compass their pernicious Designs. That the Senate considering the pressing Exigencies of the State, and knowing that the excessive Power and Riches of the Bishops were inconsistent with the Peace of the Kingdom, had wisely ordain'd that Two Thirds of the Tithes shou'd be apply'd to the Maintenance and Subsistence of the Army.

That 'twas his Majesty's desire, that his late Declarations, and the Decree of the Senate, which were absolutely necessary for easing the People of their insupportable Burthens, and securing the Public Tranquility, shou'd be confirm'd by the Estates; That both the Secular and Regular Clergy shou'd forthwith restore to the Crown, to the Nobility, and

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and to all other private Persons, such Lands and Estates as they pretended had been bequeath'd or voluntarily given to 'em since the Reign of King *Charles IX.* and the Edict he publish'd prohibiting such Donations for the future ; That the Clergy, as well as the Laity, shou'd be oblig'd to contribute towards the Maintenance and Support of the Army, proportionably to their ancient Revenues and Acquisitions ; That the Bishops shou'd not be permitted hereafter to inherit the Estates of the inferior Clergy, by which they had insensibly ruin'd some of the best Families in the Kingdom ; That they shou'd quit and renounce their pretended Right to Penalties and Forfeitures ; That they shou'd be constrain'd to surrender their Castles and Forts, where open and avow'd Rebels had so often been receiv'd and protected ; And, in the last place, that the Clergy shou'd be for ever excluded from the Senate, and from enjoying any share in the Government.

The Bishop of *Lincoping* reply'd, That he was not at all surpriz'd to hear such unjust Proposals made by those who encourag'd the Attempts of the *Lutherans* against the Establish'd Religion ; but that he and the rest of the Clergy were firmly and unanimously resolv'd to defend the Catholic Faith to the last extremity ; and that they wou'd never betray the Church by consenting to the alienation of the Lands that were annex'd to their Benefices, or by yielding up their undoubted Rights and Priviledges, without an expresse Order from the Pope, whom they held to be the Supreme Disposer of the Church Revenues, as well as the Infallible Judge of Religious Controversies.

The King was extremely surpriz'd at the boldness of this Discourse, and was looking about among the Senators and Noblemen, as it were to engage some of 'em to appear in his defence, when *Tureiobian* stood up to speak. But, instead of seconding the Chancellor's Proposals, he told the King, in a very

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1526. confident and haughty manner, that the Bishop of *Lincoping* cou'd not be too much commended for his Zeal, and that he wish'd all his Countrymen were inspir'd with so noble a Resolution to defend the Catholick Religion, and the Liberty of the Nation. The Great Marshal's Courage was highly applauded by the Clergy, and by several Deputies of *West-Gotland* who murmur'd in secret against the prevailing Enemies of the Establish'd Religion, but durst not express their Resentments for fear of incurring the King's displeasure.

Gustavus was so incens'd at *Tureioban*'s unexpected Boldness, and the applause he receiv'd from so considerable a Party, that after he had reproach'd 'em with Ingratitude and an unbecoming Sawciness, he told 'em, That he perceiv'd 'twas the Character of the *Swedish* Nation, that they cou'd neither endure a Master, nor live without one; That his Declarations against the Clergy, and the Decree of the Senate concerning the Tithes had procur'd him more Enemies in his own Kingdom than he had among the Neighbouring Nations, who envy'd the Happiness of *Sweden*; That he knew there were many in the Kingdom, and even in that Assembly, who (according to the *Swedish* Proverb) wou'd be glad to see the Head of an Axe struck deep into his Head, tho' none of 'em durst take up the Handle; but that they were grossly mistaken, if they thought he mounted the Throne as an Actor comes upon a Stage, only to represent the Person of a King. In the mean time he assur'd 'em, That he wou'd be obey'd, and that in the present Juncture of Affairs 'twas requisite he shou'd use an Absolute Power, to oppose the Designs and Attempts both of the Emperor and the late King *Christiern*.

Nevertheless, he protested, that he was willing to resign his Authority, if they thought he cou'd not without injustice assume the Power that was necessary to maintain it. He told 'em, that he desir'd



no other Recompence for all his Labours than the bare repayment of the Money he had spent in their defence; and assur'd 'em, that he wou'd afterwards suffer 'em to enjoy in peace the fruit of his Victories and Conquests, and solemnly engage to leave the Kingdom for ever. At these Words, Grief and Anger drew some Tears from his Eyes, and without expecting an Answer, he suddenly left the Assembly, and retir'd to the Castle, follow'd by the principal Officers of his Army, who urg'd him to assume an absolute and unlimited Power, and offer'd to execute his Orders without expecting the Consent or Approbation of the Estates.

In the mean time the Chancellor staid in the Assembly, to keep the Estates from proceeding to any violent Resolutions in the King's Absence: But nothing was concluded that day; for the Temporal Senators and the principal Lords were so astonish'd at the King's angry Retreat, that they rose up and went out immediately, as if they had been afraid to be seen in the Company of those who had oppos'd the Designs of their Sovereign. On the other hand, the Bishops with the rest of the Clergy, most of the Lords of *West-Gothland*, and all the Rabble of *Westerat*, conducted *Tureioban* to his Lodgings with a kind of Triumphal Solemnity.

The haughty Marshal was so puff'd up with the Applauses he had receiv'd, that he cou'd not conceal his Joy to see himself at the head of a Party, which he thought was grown formidable to the King. He fancy'd that he cou'd Govern the Estates as he pleas'd, and by his Authority influence all their Resolutions. He enter'd his House with the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle Drums, elevated with his present Success, without considering the Vanity and Inconstancy of Popular Applause, and the extreme and almost unavoidable hazard which a Great Man runs by presuming to slight or oppose the Authority of his Prince.

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Next morning the Estates met again, and spent the whole day in mutual Contests. *Olaus Petri* challenge'd his former Adversary *Gallus* to examine the Controverted Points in a new Conference; but that design was let fall by reason of a difference that happen'd betwixt the two Doctors, concerning the Language that was to be us'd in the Conference: for *Gallus* wou'd have propos'd his Arguments in *Latin*, and after the Method of the Schools; and *Olaus*, on the contrary, wou'd dispute in the *Swedish* Tongue, which was equally understood by all the Deputies. In the mean time the Assembly was divided into two Parties; for some of 'em stood up boldly for preserving the Estates and Privileges of the Clergy, as the only way to secure the Establish'd Religion against the progress of *Lutheranism*; while others, looking upon these new Opinions as Problematical and indifferent Questions, at least till the Controversy shou'd be finally decided by a General Council, thought it the safest Course to prevent a Rupture with the King by an intire Submission to his Will.

While the two opposite Factions were contending about the reasonableness of their different Opinions, the Chancellor was labouring to convince the principal Deputies, That Kingdoms ought not to be govern'd by the Maxims of an Order of Men who have a separate Interest from that of the State, and own a Foreign Prince for their Sovereign: That upon all Occasions, and in all Emergencies, the Publick Good ought to be reckon'd the supreme and over-ruling Law: That since all other Humane Constitutions were originally fram'd for the Preservation of Civil Society, the Prince or supreme Magistrate ought to be entrusted with a Power to alter and model 'em according to the various Exigences and Tempers of several Nations: That the Clergy had always made Religion a Cloak for their Avarice, and enrich'd themselves with the Spoils of a Deluded and Superstitious

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 stitious People: That the Bishops by pretending a Right to inherit the Estates of the Subordinate Clergy, had ruin'd the best Families in the Kingdom: That under the several Pretexes of Inheritance, Forfeitures, and Fines, they continu'd by degrees to make themselves Masters of all the Treasure in the Nation: That they eluded the force of the Laws, and secur'd themselves in the possession of their unjust acquisitions by their usual Cant of the *Patrimony and Revenues of the Church*: That the People were so afraid of their Bugbear, *Excommunication*, that they were bubbl'd out of their Estates, without daring to complain against their Oppressors: That these designing Prelates were always ready to execute the Pope's Anathema's against those who had the misfortune to be condemn'd as Hereticks; tho' they only own'd his Infallibility, so far as it was suitable and subservient to their Interest.

By such Discourses, and other Methods that were equally secret and effectual, the Chancellor brought over most of the Deputies to the King's Party, and even prevail'd with several Clergymen to comply with their Sovereign's Designs. They began to reflect upon the danger of exposing themselves to the Indignation of so potent a Prince; and that cunning Minister endeavour'd to increase their Fears by insinuating, that an obstinate Resistance was, and wou'd be look'd upon as, not much less criminal than an open Rebellion.

Thus the Interest and Voices of the greatest part of the Assembly were by degrees secur'd for *Gustavus*, while *Tureihanson*, flattering himself with the imaginary strength of his Party, was dooming the Hereticks to the fire, and soliciting the Estates by a positive Law to declare *Lutherans* incapable of possessing the Crown, with a secret design to exclude *Gustavus*, and that he might have a Legal Pretence to oppose his Coronation. This Point was debated

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a great deal of Heat, and every Man was giving his Judgment according to the different Motions of his particular Interest or Inclination, when the Bishop of *Strengnes*, who had been secretly gain'd by the Court, desir'd leave to speak.

As soon as he had obtain'd liberty to deliver his Opinion, he told the Estates, that he was surpriz'd to hear some of 'em talk so publickly of deposing the King, almost within his hearing, or at least under the Cannon of his Castle: That Matters of such vast Importance were not to be decided by Caballing or Plurality of Voices; and that many who talk'd like Heroes in the Assembly, wou'd tremble at the sight of their offended King at the head of his Army. He ask'd 'em with what Forces they cou'd oppose a Prince, who was Master of all the Troops in the Kingdom? And, supposing they cou'd perswade him to resign the Crown, whether they cou'd establish sufficient Funds to repay the vast Sums he had spent in their Defence?

He assur'd 'em, that they wou'd find it a difficult Task to clear Accounts with a brave General at the Head of a considerable Army, who might easily retain the Sovereign Power for a Pledge of Payment: That they were grossly mistaken, if they thought, that under another Prince, or a different form of Government, *Sweden* wou'd be able to make a long Resistance against so many Enemies with which it was surrounded: That every prudent and considering Person wou'd acknowledge, that the Strength and Safety of the Kingdom depended more immediately upon the Person, than upon the Dignity of the King: That every step the King shou'd make to quit the Throne, wou'd make way for the Kings of *Denmark*, either *Christiern* or *Frederick*, to ascend it; and that 'twas only his Courage and Valour that kept the Enemies of the Nation in awe.

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He added, That tho' the Clergy had not much reason to boast of his Majesty's Favour and Protection, yet the prevailing Power of Truth, and his sincere Love to his Country, oblig'd him to own, that the Safety of the Kingdom was inseparably united to the Person of the King : That he cou'd not without ingratitude deny a just acknowledgment to the Great Marshal, nor refuse to commend the Vigour and Courage with which he maintain'd the Interests of the Clergy ; but that at the same time he thought himself oblig'd to put 'em in mind of the fatal Consequences that are usually produc'd by an impetuous and indiscreet Zeal : That the best advice he cou'd at present suggest to his Brethren, was, that they wou'd freely relinquish some of their Claims, and yield up some Privileges at a time when their Compliance was so necessary for the preservation of the Kingdom : That he cou'd not forbear blaming the Imprudence and Injustice of those, who, by preferring their private Interest before the Good of the State, expos'd themselves to the Indignation of a Prince who cou'd easily punish their Obstinacy, and was only able to secure the Nation against the Attempts of its Enemies ; That 'twas unreasonable to suspect that the King had chang'd his Religion, merely because he wou'd not burn those who thought themselves oblig'd to pray to God in their Natural Language : That his Majesty had declar'd on several Occasions, that he was resolv'd to persist in the Religion of his Ancestors : That after all, it cou'd not be deny'd, that, under the pretence of Devotion, the Monks had disfigur'd their Holy Religion with superstitious and unwarrantable Innovations ; That the King, with the Assistance of the Wisest and most Learned Persons in the Kingdom, might endeavour to correct those Abuses, without giving the least occasion to accuse or suspect him of designing to introduce a new Religion ; and that he might shake

1527. off the Yoke of the Court of *Rome*, without separating from the Communion of the *Roman* Church.

This Prelate's Discourse was heard with great Attention, and produc'd the quicker and more considerable Effects, because it was not expected from a Person of his Character. The Bishops and the Deputies of the Clergy cou'd hardly restrain the Transports of their Fury: but he receiv'd a loud and general Applause from almost all the rest of the Assembly. Their Eyes were open'd in an instant, and the Spel was broken that had kept 'em so long from complying with the Desires of their Sovereign. They began to look upon his Absence both as their Fault and Misfortune: Their Animosity against him was succeeded by an eager Emulation to out-do each other in the highest Demonstrations of Loyalty. They proceeded immediately to frame a Declaration according to his Majesty's Proposals, notwithstanding the clamorous opposition of the Clergy; and notice was given to the Great Marshal, that 'twou'd not be safe for him to make so great a noise in the Assembly. The Deputies of the Peasants, concluding that the Contest which had divided the Estates, and incens'd the King, was meerly about some Temporal Affairs, swore aloud, that they wou'd cut in pieces the first Man that shou'd presume to oppose his Majesty's Pleasure. And the Great Marshal, with the Lords of *West-Gothland*, were so terrified with these Menaces, that they thought they cou'd not otherwise avoid the Storm that threaten'd 'em than by Silence, and a timely Retreat.

By the Solemn Declaration or Act of the Estates 'twas ordain'd, That the Bishops shou'd immediately surrender their Forts to the King's Officers, and disband their Troops and Garrisons. That they shou'd be for ever excluded out of the Senate, the Management of Affairs of State being inconsistent with the right Discharge of their Ministerial Functions. That they

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they shou'd not be permitted to deprive the lawful Heirs of the Inferior Clergy of their Right of Inheritance; That their pretended Right to Fines and Forfeited Estates, which were properly a part of the Revenues of the Crown, shou'd be intirely abrogated; That all the superfluous Plate and useles Bells that belong'd to the Churches shou'd be sold for the Payment of the Sums due to the Regency of *Lubeck*; That all the Grants of Estates to the Clergy, since the Edict of King *Cannison*, shou'd be vacated, and the Lands re-united to the Crown; That the Nobility and Gentry might redeem their Estates that were Mortgag'd to the Church, by paying off the Mortgage; That Two thirds of the Tithes, that were enjoy'd by most of the Bishops and Abbots, shou'd be sequester'd for maintaining the Army; so long as there shou'd be any appearance of a War in the Kingdom; and that in time of Peace they shou'd be imploy'd in the Erecting and Endowing of Public Schools and Hospitals in the several Provinces; That severe Punishments shou'd be inflicted upon such of the Clergy as shou'd presume to Excommunicate any Person for a meerly Temporal Concern; That the Civil Magistrates shou'd take care to restrain the Mendicant Friars from their usual Rambles; and that all the Privileges of the Clergy shou'd be intirely at his Majesty's Disposal. And by the Chancellor's Politic Contrivance there was a Clause inserted in the Act, ordaining, That all considerable Churches shou'd be provided with Learned and Virtuous Men to expound the pure Word of God to the People; which, in the Language of those times, signify'd, That *Lutheranism* shou'd be preach'd with Authority.

Assoon as the Act was put into Form, 'twas sign'd by all the Deputies, and even by the Bishops, whose mutual Divisions render'd 'em incapable of making any considerable opposition. Some of 'em were gain'd

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gain'd by the Court, and the rest were forc'd to comply, tho' they were sensible that by subscribing the Decree of the Senate, they consented in a manner to their own Deposition, and even to a Clause that was aim'd directly against the Catholic Religion. The Estates pray'd the Chancellor and Dr. *Olaus Petri* to carry the Act to the King; and charg'd him to assure his Majesty, that he shou'd not afterwards find the least Opposition to his Pleasure in that Assembly.

The King, having thus brought 'em to his own Terms, went in Person to the Assembly; and the Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, thank'd the Deputies for their having at last taken such Resolutions as were most suitable to the present Exigencies. He assur'd 'em, in his Master's Name, that all possible care shou'd be taken to spare the People, and that his Majesty hop'd, by the Assistance of that Supply which they had now granted him, he shou'd be enabl'd to frustrate the Attempts of all his and their Enemies. Then the King dissolv'd the Assembly, with assurances of suitable Rewards to such of the Deputies as had express'd most Zeal for his Interest.

By this Declaration of the Estates, *Gustavus* finding himself Master both of the Religion and Revenues of the Church, went at the head of a Body of Horse to see the Act put in execution. He march'd thro' all the Provinces, attended by *Olaus Petri* and several other *Lutheran* Doctors, whom he order'd to preach before him in the principal Churches. In all the places thro' which he pass'd, he commanded the Titles or Grants by which the Clergy held their Estates to be brought before him; and either reunited to the Crown, or restor'd to the ancient Proprietors or their Heirs, such Lands as had been granted or bequeath'd to the Church since the Reign of King *Canutson*: By which means he recover'd from

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from the Secular and Regular Clergy more than Two Thirds of their Revenues, and by computation seiz'd upon Thirteen thousand considerable Farms; some of which he reunited to his own Demesns, bestowing the rest upon his Creatures and the Principal Officers of his Army. At the same time he caus'd the Church-Plate to be every where melted down, and carried to the Publick Treasury or Exchequer.

In this Progress, which may be call'd an Expedition against the Clergy, *Gustavus* gave the last and fatal Blow to the Catholic Religion: The Priests and Monks were openly persecuted, and forc'd to chuse either Apostacy or Exile; for this was thought the most effectual way to compleat the intended Revolution in the *Swedish* Church, since 'twas impossible for Religion to stand after its Supporters were remov'd. Neither was there any need of Pretences to excuse the violence of these proceedings at a time when 'twas reputed a Crime for a Clergyman to profess the Religion of his Ancestors.

Most of the Priests and other Benefic'd Clergymen scrupl'd not to embrace *Lutheranism*, that they might be suffer'd to live quietly in their old Habitations, and enjoy at least a part of their former Revenues. Many were only requir'd to Marry, and to perform Divine Service in the Vulgar Tongue, which was reckon'd the surest Mark of a Priest's Conversion to the New Religion. The Bishop of *Lincoping* retir'd to *Poland*, and the rest of the Prelates lay sculking in their Houses, without daring to perform the Functions of their Ministry, for fear of exposing themselves to new Persecutions. They expected the King's Orders with a servile Patience, resolving to submit to whatever Fate he shou'd please to appoint 'em, and looking upon the lessening of their Revenues as a more pernicious Innovation than the Alteration of their Religion. But the Bishop of

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1527. *Scara* wou'd not resign his Dignity so tamely, nor compliment his Sovereign with the Revenues of his Church; and since he cou'd not defend the Doctrine of the Church by strength of Reason, he resolv'd to preserve its Patrimony by force of Arms. He prevail'd with *Tureibanson* to engage in the same Design, and secur'd the Interest and Assistance of several Lords in *West-Gothland*, who endeavour'd to raise an Insurrection in that Province; but the Peasants were possess'd with so high an Esteem of their Prince, and were so over-aw'd by the Reputation of his Valour, that they neither wou'd nor durst appear in Arms against him; and the Bishop had afterwards the Mortification to see himself abandon'd by his own Chapter, who began to favour the Opinions of *Luther*.

In the mean time the greatest part of the Monks left their Convents; some out of a Licentious and inordinate desire of Liberty, and others for want of a settl'd Maintenance. Those who remain'd stedfast in the profession of the Catholick Religion fled to *Dalecarlia*, where they thought to find a secure Retreat among a People who had openly declar'd against *Lutheranism*. *Dalecarlia*, as I intimated before, is a remote Province in the Northern parts of *Sweden*, inhabited by a rude and ignorant People, zealously fond of their ancient Religion, almost meer Savages, inur'd to War, and on that score fit for War, but incapable of Discipline. This wild Country was quickly overspread with Ecclesiastics, both of the Secular and Regular Clergy, old Men and Women loaded with Children, who had left their Habitations, and chose rather to wander thro' the Mountains than comply with the prevailing Religion. The *Dalecarlians*, mov'd with the Complaints of those miserable Fugitives, and being equally unable to endure the sight of the new Pastors that were plac'd in their Churches, and the Inconstancy

stancy of some of the Priests who submitted to the late Regulations, took up Arms with a great deal of Fury. The Priests and Monks join'd with 'em, and all the Catholicks and Malecontents espous'd their Quarrel; some out of Zeal for their ancient Religion, and to preserve the Revenues of the Church, and others out of Spite because they were disappointed of the Share they expected in the Spoils of the Clergy.

Assoon as the Bishop of *Scara* heard of the Insurrection in *Dalecarlia*, he went privately to that Province, and join'd the Rebels. He was accompany'd by the Great Marshal, and several Gentlemen of *West-Gotbland*, who had enter'd into a mutual Engagement not to lay down their Arms till they had procur'd the Re-establishment of the Catholic Religion. They were receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy by the *Dalecarlians*, who made *Turrioban* General of all their Forces.

The Great Marshal had Three Sons, the Two Eldest of whom were at Court, and the Third was Grand Provost of the Cathedral of *Upsal*, who hearing that his Father was at the head of the Rebels, dispers'd Manifesto's against the King thro' the whole Province of *Upland*, exhorting the People to take up Arms for the Preservation of their Churches & Altars; And to encourage 'em by his Example, he put himself at the head of some Troops. In the mean time the Great Marshal wrote to his Two Eldest Sons to steal away from the Court, and join their Brother, or to come immediately to *Dalecarlia* with as many of their Friends as they cou'd perswade to follow 'em. The Two young Lords were very sensibly afflicted with the News of their Father's Revolt, which oblig'd 'em either to declare against him, or against their Sovereign, and of two Duties, which they look'd upon as equally indispensable, to chuse the one and renounce the other.

But

1527.



But after a short struggle betwixt their Fidelity to their Master and their Duty to their Father, the former prevail'd over the latter, and even over their love to Religion. They concluded, that in Affairs of State they were oblig'd to adhere to the supreme Magistrate, and that no difference in Religion cou'd excuse 'em from paying the Obedience they ow'd to their Prince. They consider'd also, that their Loyalty might atone for their Father's Indiscretion, and procure his Pardon; and that it was more agreeable to the Rules of Honour and Prudence to merit a Pardon for their Father by their Fidelity, than to make themselves guilty of the same Crime in expectation of a better Fortune. In pursuance of these Resolutions, they deliver'd their Father's Letters to the King, protesting they wou'd always be ready to venture their Lives in his Majesty's Service. Gustavus receiv'd 'em very graciously, and promis'd to prefer 'em; but seem'd neither to be surpriz'd nor alarm'd at the News. Nor did he make any open Preparations in order to reduce the Rebels, pretending that he was loath to make his Subjects fight against one another, and that he hop'd to crush the Rebellion by gentler Methods.

But in the mean time he sent private Orders to his Troops to file off towards the Frontiers of *Dalecarlia*; that he might be in a condition to surprize the Rebels, and to reduce 'em to Obedience by the fear of Punishment. Upon the first News of the Insurrection he had sent some Persons from Court, who were acquainted with some of the Malecontents, and were not unknown to the *Dalecarlians*, with Instructions to treat with the Rebels. Those Agents made their first addresses to the Bishop of *Scars*, the Great Marshal, and other Disaffected Persons who had join'd the *Dalecarlians*. They endeavour'd to gain the Leading Men by advantageous Proposals; but found it impossible to conquer their Obstinacy;

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and those who were willing to Treat, had so little influence over the rest of their Party, and stood upon such high Terms, that they did not think fit to buy 'em off at so dear a rate. However they succeeded better in their Negotiation with the *Dalecarlian* Peasants; for they prevail'd with 'em to send Deputies to the Court, assuring 'em, that his Majesty would deny nothing to a People to whom he ow'd his Crown and his Victories; but their true design was only to amuse 'em, that they might be less careful to put themselves in a posture of Defence.

The *Dalecarlian* Deputies were so far from penetrating into the King's Secret Designs, that they concluded he stood in awe of 'em, and thought they might easily obtain whatever Conditions they shou'd think fit to propose. And therefore, in the Name of their Province, and of all the Catholics in the Kingdom, they demanded, that *Lutheranism* shou'd be punish'd with Death; That the Marriages of the Priests and Monks shou'd be dissolv'd, the Bells and Church-Plate restor'd, and all Persons burnt, without exception, that shou'd be found guilty of eating Flesh on Fish-days; That the King shou'd solemnly promise, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, never to pass the River of *Brunebeck*, that separates their Province from *Westmania*, without giving 'em Hostages for the security of their Privileges. But the main Article on which they insisted was, That both the King and his Courtiers shou'd reassume the old *Swedish* Habit, and that they shou'd never afterwards borrow new Dresses and Fashions from Strangers.

Gustavus amus'd the Deputies with ambiguous Answers, and gave 'em occasion to believe that they shou'd at least obtain part of their Demands, but in the mean time he continu'd his secret Preparations to surprize the Rebels with his whole Army.

Assoon

1527.

As soon as he was certainly inform'd that his Troops were advanc'd within a days March of their appointed Rendezvous, he sent back the Deputies with Orders to tell their Countreymen, That 'twas never his Custom to Treat with his Subjects; That if they wanted an occasion to exercise their Valour they might appear in Arms in the Plain of *Tuna*, where he was resolv'd to meet 'em at the head of his Army; but if they were afraid to see their Villages destroy'd with Fire and Sword, the only way to avoid the Effects of his just Indignation was to expel the Malecontents out of their Province, lay down their Arms, and submit to his Mercy.

After he had dismiss'd the Deputies, he took Post immediately for the Army, and the Event was answerable to the Prudence of his Conduct; for the Rebels were so amaz'd at his Diligence and Resolution, that they were seiz'd with a sudden Terror and Consternation upon the News of his Approach. *Tureioban*son and his Party suspected the *Dalecarlians*, and fancy'd that they had made a separate Peace for themselves; and on the other hand, the Peasants imagin'd that they were betray'd by the Lords. Thus they were in a manner divided into two distinct Factions by their mutual Jealousy, which increas'd daily, and was at last chang'd to Hatred and Enmity.

The Bishop of *Scara* and *Tureioban*son, not daring to trust the *Dalecarlians* any longer, fled to *Norway*, from whence they retir'd to *Ring Christiørn* in the *Netherlands*; and their sudden flight struck such a Terror into the rest of their Party, that they left the Peasants to manage their own Game, who seeing themselves abandon'd by their Leaders, resolv'd to submit to the King's Mercy, and went to the Plain of *Tuna*, where he had appointed to meet 'em at the head of his Army. As soon as they appear'd, he order'd his Horse to surround 'em, and at the same time commanded the Rebels to discover the principal

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Authors and Contrivers of the Revolt. He was immediately obey'd by the terrify'd Peasants, and the Persons whom they nam'd were beheaded upon the spot ; that the suddenness of the Execution might make a deeper and more lasting Impression upon these wild and barbarous People, and that the Impetuous Ebullitions of their seditious and changeable Tempers might be restrain'd for the future by such a necessary piece of Severity. Thus did that Wise and Fortunate Prince appease a furious Insurrection by an innocent Artifice and commendable Diligence, without the loss of one Soldier, and almost without any Effusion of Blood.

These were the last Efforts of a Turbulent and unbridl'd Liberty, which was forc'd to give way to a more absolute, and consequently more peaceful Dominion. The *Swedes* submitted tamely to an Authority which they had neither the Power nor Courage to oppose ; and *Gustavus* seem'd to be the absolute Lord of their Consciences as well as of their Persons. Some endeavour'd to advance their Interest at Court, by embracing the Modish Religion ; and others were frighted out of the *Roman* Communion by the scandalous Lives of the Clergy. The *Lutheran* Doctors perswaded their New Converts, that the Opinions they recommended in their Sermons were so far from being New, that 'twas the pure Doctrine of the Primitive Christians freed from Monkish Superstitions ; and their Arguments were so powerfully seconded by the Motives of Conveniency and Interest, that most of their Hearers were willing and even desirous to be convinc'd.

Gustavus perceiving that most of his Subjects had actually chang'd their Religion, declar'd himself a *Lutheran*, concluding they cou'd not blame him for following their Example. He made *Olaus Petri* Minister of the Church at *Stockholm*, and nominated his Brother *Lawrentius Petri* to the Archbishopric of *Upsal*.

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1527. He bestow'd also one of his Relations in Marriage upon the latter, to make amends for the large Revenues he had taken from his Benefice, and that the Honour of so illustrious a Match might lessen the aversion of the People to a Marry'd Priest. Not long after, the Ceremony of the Coronation was perform'd by the Archbishop with the usual Solemnities; and at the same time his Majesty conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon all the Senators, and the principal Lords of the Court.

1528.
Jan. 12.

Thus *Lutheranism* became the public Religion of *Sweden*, and was openly profess'd by the King, Senators, Bishops, and all the Nobility. But since most of the Country Curates, and others of the inferior Clergy, had comply'd meerly out of fear, there was a certain odd medley of Catholic Ceremonies and *Lutheran Devotions* introduc'd into several Churches in the Kingdom. Some of the Marry'd Clergy continu'd still to celebrate the Mass according to the Ritual and Liturgy of the *Roman Church*; The Sacrament of Baptism was administer'd with all the Prayers and Exorcisms appointed in that case by the Church; and the Burial of the Dead was still accompany'd with the Prayers that are usually address'd to God for the Relief of the Souls of the Faithful, tho' the Doctrine of Purgatory was exploded.

But, at last *Gustavus*, considering how much the Public Peace depends upon an entire Uniformity of Worship, especially in a Monarchical Government, call'd a General Assembly of the Clergy, in the form of a National Council.

1529.
Loc. l. 6. p.
276. Ba-
zili Hist.
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The Assembly was held at *Orebro*, the Capital City of *Nericia*; and *Lordz Anderson*, the Chancellor, presided in his Majesty's Name. This *Lutheran Council* was compos'd of the Bishops, Doctors, and Ministers of the principal Churches. They acknowledg'd the *Augsburg-Confession* for the Rule and Standard of their Faith; and solemnly renounc'd the Obedience they



they ow'd to the Head of the Church. They ordain'd, that the Service of the Church of *Rome* shou'd be entirely abolish'd; and that no Person for the future shou'd presume to Pray for the Dead. They establish'd the Administration of the Sacraments according to the Manner of the *Lutheran* Churches in *Germany*; condemn'd Celibacy and Monastic Vows, and permitted the Clergy to Marry. They confirm'd the Act made at *Westeras*, which depriv'd 'em of their Privileges, and the greatest part of their Revenues. And 'tis to be observ'd, that these Regulations were made by almost the same Persons who the year before had so vigorously defended the Religion of their Ancestors: so few there are that can long withstand the united Force of Fear and Ambition, when both these Passions are animated by the different Prospects of Persecution and Preferment.

Yet they cou'd not easily abolish the Practice of the *Roman* Church in the Administration of the Sacraments: for the People, and especially the Women, were so dissatisfy'd with the New Regulations which abrogated the Ceremonies that were observ'd in Baptism, and the usual Prayers for the Dead, that their Complaints occasion'd a general Disturbance in the Kingdom. The Women, thro' an Excess of Fear, which perhaps was as much an Effect of their Temper as of their Virtue, thought their Children cou'd not be truly Baptiz'd without the Use of Salt and Exorcisms: and the dread of a future Purgatory, which cou'd not be entirely rooted out of their minds, fill'd 'em with apprehensions, on the account of their deceas'd Relations, that cou'd not be quieted by all the Eloquence and Arguments of the *Lutheran* Doctors.

Gustavus fearing lest the Complaints and Dissatisfaction of the People shou'd occasion a new Revolt, order'd the *Lutheran* Ministers to comply with those who were obstinately bigotted to their ancient Ceremonies,

1530. remonies, and only to use the new where they found the People inclin'd to receive 'em.

After the King had establish'd *Lutheranism* throughout the whole extent of his Dominions, he undertook another Project, which afforded him as fair a prospect of advantage as the former. Most of the *Swedish* Provinces were formerly overspread with vast Forests: King *Olaus Trætzelga*, *Amund*, and other succeeding Princes, caus'd the greatest part of 'em to be disforested, and bestow'd these new Lands upon the Nobility and Gentry, under the Title, and in the nature of Fiefs, for which they were oblig'd to pay a certain Rate or Duty to the Crown. But during the Civil War the Lords and Gentlemen had, by degrees, left off the payment of those ancient Duties, and at last seem'd to be entirely freed from that sort of Tribute, till it was reviv'd by *Gustavus*, who requir'd the present Possessors either to resign their Fiefs, or pay the Rents at which they were originally tax'd. The Demands and Pretensions of that Prince were not much different from the most absolute Laws and Decrees; and the Proprietors of those Lands were so afraid of provoking him, that they offer'd immediately to compound. The chief Lords of each Province treated with the Chancellor about the Terms of their Composition, and at last agreed to pay the King Ten Marks of Silver for every Fief, or (as it was then call'd) for every Land that paid Tribute to the Crown.

Thus *Gustavus* had the good fortune to see all his Designs succeed according to his desire, and even beyond his Hope and Expectation. He look'd upon the Alteration of Religion as the happiest and most important Passage of his Reign; and the humbling of the Clergy, whom he dreaded no less than the *Danes*, as a second Conquest of *Sweden*. Of all his Enemies there was none left but *Christiern* that cou'd make him uneasy, or in the least disturb the Tranquillity of his Govern.

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Part II. *Revolutions in Sweden.*

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1530.

Government. That Prince was still in *Flanders*, from whence he continually solicited the Emperor, his Brother-in-Law, to assist him in the Recovery of his lost Dominions. The Spies whom *Gustavus* kept constantly about him, acquainted their Master that *Christiern* was levying Soldiers in *Holland*; from whence that politic Prince concluded, that the Storm with which the Northern Kingdoms had been threaten'd so long, was ready to break out, and that either *Sweden* or *Denmark* wou'd quickly be made the Scene of a doubtful and bloody War. Immediately he communicated the Advice he had receiv'd from *Flanders* to the King of *Denmark*, and at the same time resolv'd to secure himself against the Designs of the House of *Austria* by some considerable Alliance. He concluded that the *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany*, who were extremely jealous of the Emperor's growing Power, wou'd be easily perswaded to support the Interest of a Prince who profess'd the same Religion; and upon these considerations he set a Treaty on foot with the Duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, demanding his Eldest Daughter in Marriage. The Duke, who had been long an Admirer of the Valour and Glory of *Gustavus*, look'd upon this Proposal as a Favour, and sent the Princess his Daughter with a numerous Attendance to *Lubeck*, where she was receiv'd by the whole Navy of *Sweden*. After her arrival at *Stockholm* the Marriage was solemniz'd with all the Joy and Magnificence that are usual on such Occasions. At the same time the King sent the late Administrator's Son to the Duke of *Saxe*, his Father-in-Law, that under the pretext of Travelling he might remove, from the sight and Conversation of the *Swedes*, a young Prince, who was born to be their Master, whose Presence inspir'd the most moderate with Compassion, and might furnish those that were disaffected with a specious pretence to carry on their Designs against the Government.

Gustavus had scarce finish'd the Ceremonies of his

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1530. Marriage, when he receiv'd advice, that the Soldiers whom *Christiern* had levy'd were privately imbarcking at a Port in *Holland*. Upon which he dispatch'd a Courier to the King of *Denmark*, (according to a former Agreement) and at the same time put himself at the head of his Army, both to observe the motions of the Enemy, and to hinder the Catholics and other Malecontents from favouring the Descent of that Prince.

1531. The Emperor had continually amus'd him with repeated assurances, that he wou'd undertake the Expedition in Person, with all the Forces of the Empire. But the War in which he was almost perpetually engag'd with *France*, broke that design; so that *Christiern*, discourag'd with so long a Series of Disappointments, weary of so tedious an Exile in a Foreign Countrey, and of acting the melancholy part of a King without a Crown, resolv'd, with the Forces he had levy'd, to try his Fortune, and endeavour to force a passage into his former Dominions.

Tureibanson, who was always as brave as a Hero at plotting, and cutting out Work for others, was continually soliciting that Prince to make an Attempt upon *Sweden*. To encourage him, and at the same time to engage him in a Design that cou'd not be prosecuted without his Assistance, he assur'd him, that the *Swedes* were generally so dissatisfy'd with the present Government, and so enrag'd at the late Alteration of Religion, that they long'd for his Restoration; That he wou'd ask no more than 3000 Horse to make a Descent in that Kingdom; and that the first Mals that was said in his Camp wou'd draw thither all the Malecontents in the Kingdom, and even occasion a Desertion in *Gustavus's* Army; That notwithstanding the reputed Wisdom and Policy of that Prince, he had sign'd his own Abdication in the Assembly of the Clergy at *Orebro* by abolishing the Catholic Religion; That, excepting a small number of Courtiers,

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and some Officers of the Army, whom he had enrich'd with the Spoils of the Clergy, the whole Nation detested his Tyranny, and abhorr'd him as a Sacrilegious Enemy to their Religion; That he had disbanded his Foreign Horse, and that his Infantry consisted of the ordinary Militia of the Country, who wou'd infallibly forsake him, as soon as they heard of King *Christiern's* return to restore their ancient Religion, and redress the Grievances of the Clergy.

Upon these plausible Assurances, *Christiern* resolv'd to try the chance of War, with about Ten thousand Men of several Nations, and all Soldiers of Fortune, whom he had levy'd in the *Netherlands*. With this Body of Men, embark'd in 30 Ships, he set sail from a Port of *Holland*, steering his Course for *Norway*, which at that time was almost wholly destitute of Soldiers, as being sufficiently defended by the Barrenness of its Soil, and the Rocks and Mountains with which the whole Countrey is over-spread. He knew that he was less expected there than in *Denmark* or *Sweden*, and from thence he design'd to enter into the latter of these Kingdoms, either thro' *West-Gothland* or *Dalecarlia*, imagining that the Peasants in these Provinces wou'd immediately, upon his appearing, take up Arms to revenge the death of their Countrymen who were executed for the late Rebellion.

But while he was flattering himself with the pleasing hope of recovering the Northern Crowns, and contriving the most probable ways to compass so great a design, he had the misfortune to meet with a dreadful Tempest, which disperst his whole Fleet, and sunk some of his Ships. He narrowly escap'd Shipwrack on the Coast of *Norway*, and with much difficulty got into the Bay of *Babus* with the shatter'd Remains of his Navy. He landed his Men without opposition, and resolv'd to march forwards to *West-Gothland*, where he hop'd to find Provisions for the subsistence of his Forces; but, upon advice that

1532.

1532. *Gustavus* had order'd a considerable Body of Horse to advance that way to stop his passage, he was forc'd to march Northward, towards *Dalecarlia*. In his way he besieg'd a Town call'd *Obflo*, which yielded upon the first summons, as not being in a condition to make any resistance. After that he took the Castle of *Carlostadt*, and some days after made himself Master of *Congel*. The fame of these petty Successes, and the hope of Plunder, made the *Norwegian* Peasants come flocking to his Army; and Archbishop *Trolle* join'd him with some Troops he had rais'd in *Brandenburg*.

If *Christiern* had stood upon equal Terms with *Gustavus*, and if the Circumstances of his Fortune had permitted him to discover his real Sentiments, the Catholics might have expected the same Treatment from him as they had receiv'd from that Prince; but 'twas his Interest to appear a zealous Assertor of that Religion, since his Adversary was a protest *Lutheran*, and since the success of his Designs depended entirely on the assistance of the Clergy and Catholics. He publish'd a General Pardon, by way of a Manifesto, in which he declar'd, That his principal Design was the Restoration of the ancient Religion. This Declaration was industriously dispers'd by the Archbishop's Emisaries, who endeavour'd to persuade the People, that *Christiern* had learn'd Wisdom and Moderation in the School of Adversity, that his Afflictions had wrought a happy Reformation upon him, that he was grown a Mild, Affable, and Gracious Prince; but especially, that during his abode in *Flanders* in the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, he had contracted an unalterable Zeal and Affection for the Catholic Religion.

This Manifesto, and these private Insinuations had so good an effect, that several *Swedes* who had not forsaken their ancient Religion, repair'd to his Army; and among the rest there were some *Dalecarlians*.

carlians who invited him to their Province. These peasants were extreamly offended at the late Alteration of the Ceremonies of the Church; but, above all things, they cou'd not endure to hear Divine Service perform'd in the vulgar Tongue. They offer'd to take up Arms, and declare for him upon his first appearing in their Province, provided he wou'd engage to burn all the *Lutherans*, assoon as he shou'd be settl'd on the Throne.

Christiern wou'd have willingly accepted their Invitation, but his march was stopt by the Snow which in that Season cover'd all the Mountains that separate *Dalecarlia* from *Norway*: However, that he might find some Occupation for his Soldiers, he march'd towards *Akerbuys*, which he besieg'd, notwithstanding the sharpness of the Winter. But *Magnus Gyllenstiern*, a Danish Nobleman, who was Viceroy of *Norway*, enter'd the place, and defended it with so much Fidelity and Resolution, that *Christiern* cou'd neither prevail with him by Promises nor Menaces to betray his Allegiance to his Master. He dispatch'd several Couriers to the Court, to acquaint the King with the Enemies Descent, and withall to inform him, that they were much streighten'd for want of Provisions, and that *Akerbuys* was so well secur'd against their Attempts by the Snow and Cold Weather, that he durst engage to hold out above four Months, in expectation of Relief from *Denmark*.

Assoon as the Sea was open, King *Frederic* order'd his Fleet to put to Sea with a considerable Body of Land-Forces under the command of *Cannut Gyllenstiern*, Bishop Elect of *Odensee* in *Funen*, and *Erie Gyllenstiern*, the Viceroy of *Norway's* Brothers. He intrusted these two Lords with the Care of this Expedition, because he concluded that their Loyalty wou'd be confirm'd and animated by their Natural Affection, and that they wou'd be prompted by two
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1532.



such pressing Considerations at once to do their Sovereign a considerable Service, and to save their Brother from falling into the hands of a Prince who seldom gave quarter to his Enemies, and even scrupl'd not on such occasions to violate the most solemn Treaties.

At the same time *Gustavus* sent several Detachments from his Army to cover the Frontiers of *Sweden*, commanding his Officers to observe the Enemies Motions, and to act jointly with the *Danish* Generals. He sent also a considerable Body of Men to *Dalecarlia* to hinder those rebellious Peasants from revolting, and put himself at the head of his Army to keep the Catholics and other disaffected Persons from assisting the Rebels. The two Brothers who commanded the *Danish* Navy, set sail for *Normay* with a design to attack King *Christiern's* Squadron, which they found in the Bay of *Babns*, and burnt entirely after an Engagement that lasted a whole day. After so important a Victory, they landed their Forces, and march'd immediately to relieve their Brother, the Viceroy.

Assoon as *Christiern* receiv'd the unwelcome News of the intire destruction of his Fleet, and the landing of the *Danish* Horse, he rais'd the Siege of *Akerbuys*, and made a second attempt to enter *Sweden* by the way of *West-Gothland*, but with no better success than before; for the Passages were block'd up by 3000 *Swedish* Horse, so that he cou'd neither advance nor retire without falling into the Hands of his Enemies, who approach'd on both sides to attack him. In so pressing an Extremity he entrench'd himself in the little Town of *Congel*, not so much in hope of escaping his inevitable Fate, as out of a natural desire to avoid the fatal Blow for some days. Neither indeed cou'd he be blam'd for sinking under the unequal Weight of so well grounded a Despair, when every Object presented him with the melancholy



choly prospect of certain Destruction. He was invested on all sides by Enemies whose safety depended on his Ruine, surrounded with dismal Mountains that were still cover'd with Snow, equally destitute of Provisions and Ammunition, and more cruelly attack'd by Hunger than by his Enemies. He was naturally susceptible of furious Passions, which were sow'd and heighten'd by his Disasters. He grew so jealous and diffident that he suspected *Tureioban-son* of entertaining a private Correspondence with the King of *Sweden*, and fancy'd that he had purposely decoy'd him into the Snare, by assuring him that there were few Horse in the *Swedish* Army. He look'd upon the Great Marshal with a Transport of Fury that seem'd to denounce his approaching Fate, and ask'd, Whether the Troops that appear'd on the Frontiers of *Gotbland* were Squadrons of *Swedish* Women? That unfortunate Lord would have reply'd in his own vindication, but he was order'd to retire, and was found the next morning in the Streets, wallowing in his Blood, having, in all probability been murder'd the night before by a secret Order from *Christiern*.

In the mean time that unhappy Prince perceiv'd that his unavoidable Fate approach'd every moment with wide and sure Steps: The Famine grew daily more insupportable in the Town, all the Avenues were possess'd by the Enemies, and their Trenches were so strong that 'twas impossible to force 'em. In these deplorable Circumstances the starv'd and despairing *Christiern* had not so much as the miserable comfort of hoping to die with his Sword in his hand. His Soldiers deserted before his Eyes, to avoid the lingering Torments of a cruel and inevitable Death, which they were not willing to undergo for the sake of a Prince whom they neither lov'd nor fear'd: His Orders were slighted, and there was not the least shadow of Discipline in his Army.

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1532. Many of his Officers fled to the *Danish* Camp, and thought themselves happy if they cou'd purchase Bread at the expence of their Liberty and with the hazard of their Lives.

The Bishop of *Odenfee*, pitying the Misery of a Prince who had once been his Sovereign, propos'd an Interview, which *Christiern* accepting repair'd to the place appointed for their meeting. The Bishop advis'd him to submit to less implacable Enemies than Hunger and Cold, assuring him, that 'twas still in his power to procure Honourable Terms from the King, his Uncle, since the Royal Family of *Oldenburg* was possess'd of so many Sovereignities, that there might be a Treaty set on foot and concluded to the Satisfaction and Advantage of both Parties. He added, that *Frederick* wou'd certainly be mov'd with Compassion at the sight of an unfortunate Nephew, and that he cou'd not behold so melting an Object without yielding to the tender force of Natural Affection. And at the same time he assur'd him, that in case he cou'd not procure Conditions suitable to his Birth and former Dignity, he wou'd bring him back to *Norway*, and even to *Congel*, of which he own'd him to be Master, or else undertake, that he shou'd be safely conducted to some place in the Emperor's Dominions.

Christiern was so sensible of the hopelessness of his present Condition, and so earnestly solicited by his Soldiers to accept such advantageous Proposals, that he condescended to Treat with that Prelate and his two Brothers, who commanded the *Danish* Forces. After he had obtain'd a Pass-port for the Archbishop and the rest of his Followers, he surrender'd himself to the *Danish* Prelate, who, after a short stay in *Norway*, to settle the Affairs of that Kingdom, set sail for *Denmark*, accompany'd with *Christiern*, whom he comforted with repeated Assurances of safety. But, it seems, the Bishop had exceeded his

1532.

his Commission, and had promis'd more than he was able to perform, without considering, that Princes seldom forgive the Attempts of a Pretender to their Crowns; and that a Conqueror can never promise himself a quiet possession of his Dignity while the dispossess'd Prince is alive and at liberty.

Assoon as *Christiern* arriv'd at *Copenhagen*, he was arrested by a Captain of King *Frederick's* Guards, who notwithstanding all the Bishop of *Odensee's* Protestations, carry'd him to the Castle of *Sondeburg*, where he was kept Fourteen years in Prison. 'Tis true the rigour of his Confinement was somewhat mitigated by his Cousin-german *Christiern* III. the Son and immediate Successor of King *Frederic*: but he was forc'd to purchase that favour with a solemn Resignation of his Claim and Pretensions to the Crowns of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*. After his signing of that Deed he was suffer'd to take the Diversion of Hunting or Fishing; The Revenues of the Castle of *Calemburg* and the Isle of *Sebergard* were allotted to him for his Subsistence, and the Castle of *Coldingen* for his Habitation, where he was entertain'd like a Prince during his Life; but in the mean time the Governor of the Castle was appointed to observe all his Actions, and oblig'd to answer for the Security of his Person.

Aug. 2.

Archbishop *Trolle*, his unfortunate and only Confident, retir'd to *Lubeck* with the Passport which *Christiern* procur'd from the Bishop of *Odensee*. Not long after he enter'd upon a secret Negotiation, and concluded a League with that Regency and Prince *Christopher* of *Oldenburg*, descended from a younger Branch of that Family. The design of the Confederates was to release *Christiern* II. who was still a Prisoner in the Castle of *Sonderburg*; in order to which the Archbishop levy'd Forces, and scrupl'd not once more to prophane the Sanctity of his Character by appearing in Arms. He was wounded and taken

taken

1535. taken Prisoner in a Battle fought in *Funen* betwixt the Forces of King *Christiern* and those of *Lubeck*, and was carry'd to *Sleswick* in *Holstein*, where he dy'd of his Wounds.

This was the last Storm that disturb'd the Quiet of *Gustavus's* Reign, after which he enjoy'd an uninterrupted Calm, and govern'd his Subjects with as absolute a sway as if he had been born their Sovereign. Nor was his Happiness and Glory confin'd to his own Kingdom; for all the Princes in *Europe*, who were not oblig'd to follow the motions of the House of *Austria*, seem'd ambitious of expressing the respectful Esteem they had for his Merit and Valour. *Francis I.* King of *France*, notwithstanding their difference in Religion, sent him the Order of *St. Michael*, the only Order that was then establish'd in *France*. There was also a Defensive League concluded betwixt these two Monarchs against the Emperor and the House of *Austria*, by which they were mutually engag'd to assist each other in time of War with 6000 Men, to be paid by the Assistant; and even upon demand with 25000 Men and 50 Ships, but in that case the Invaded Prince was to pay the Soldiers, and bear the Charge of the Expedition.

1542.

Gustavus was the first King of *Sweden* who rais'd the Glory of that Crown, and made the World sensible of the considerable influence it might have in balancing the Affairs of *Europe*. He was invited by the Princes of the League of *Smalcalden* to join with 'em in the common defence of their Religion; and they thought their Confederacy both Honour'd and Strengthen'd by the accession of so illustrious a Member.

There wanted nothing to compleat his Happiness but the entailing of the Crown upon his Posterity. This was a very nice and difficult Point; for the Nobility were extremely jealous of the Privilege of

of Election, as the only Fence that cou'd secure the Liberty of the Nation against the Invasion of an Arbitrary Power, which is the usual Consequence of a Hereditary Succession.

However the King call'd a Convention of the Estates at *Westeras*, to abrogate the Right and Custom of Election. He put 'em in mind of the great and important Services his Family had done to the Nation; and at the same time intreated the Deputies to reflect upon the fatal Consequences of the Divisions and Contests that usually happen betwixt opposite Parties at Elections. But there was no need of any Arguments to perswade 'em to comply with his Desire; for there was not one in the Assembly that durst oppose his Pleasure. The Heads of the principal Families, and the Ancient Senators were kill'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*; and the young Lords that came into the World since his Accession to the Crown, were accusom'd to a blind Obedience. There was not the least Footstep left of their former Liberty, or of the Ancient Constitution of the Government; so that the Deputies consented with a great deal of submission to the abrogating of the Right of Election, in behalf of Prince *Eric*, and the other Princes his Children, and their Successors, both in the direct and collateral Line.

This Abrogation of the Right and Priviledge of Election was solemnly Enacted as a fundamental Law, call'd the *Hereditary Union*, by which the Crown, with an absolute and unlimited Power, was intail'd upon his Children and Successors. This was a very mortifying piece of News to *Christiern III.* King of *Denmark*, who still pretended a Right to the Crown of *Sweden*; for by this Hereditary Union the Treaty of *Calmar* was intirely abrogated and disannull'd. In the mean time *Christiern* quarter'd the *Three Crowns* in his Coat Armorial, which are the Royal Arms of *Sweden*, as a public Claim and Mark

of

1544



of his Right to that Kingdom, under pretext that the Three Kingdoms of the North were united under Queen *Margaret* Daughter to *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*; tho' 'twas probably the same Reason that made the Kings of *Sweden* take these *Three Crowns* for their Arms, since they are found in the Shields and Seals of the Kings *Steric* and *Birger* the Second, about the middle of the Twelfth Age.

Gustavus sent an Embally to *Christiern* to complain of this Affront; but cou'd obtain no Satisfaction from a young and Ambitious Prince, who was obstinately resolv'd to pursue his Ancient Claim, and whole Courage was animated by some late Advantages he had obtain'd over the *Hans Towns*. *Gustavus* finding himself weaken'd and spent with Age, and the Toil of War, conceal'd his Resentment; and did not think fit to engage in a new War against so vigorous an Enemy, or to hazard his Fortune and that of his Children, at a time when he maintain'd his Authority rather by his Reputation than by his Valour. And besides he was so far from dreading the Opposition of a pretended Claim against the actual possession of a Crown which had lately been intail'd upon his Issue by a Solemn Act, that he contented himself with procuring a Treaty to be set on foot at *Bromsebroo*, by which 'twas mutually agreed to leave the Difference undecided for the space of Fifty years.

1546



Having establish'd a solid and lasting Peace in his Dominions, he apply'd himself wholly to the Improvement of Trade; in order to which, he permitted the *French* and *Dutch* to Trade in his Ports, that his Subjects might be freed from their Dependance upon the *Lubeckers*, who had ingross'd the whole Trade of *Sweden*. Afterwards he erected Forts and Citadels on the Frontiers of the Kingdom; and built Royal Palaces in several Places, with a Magnificence that till then was unknown to the

the *Swedes*. He never resided long in one place, but travell'd from Province to Province, always attended with a numerous Train of Courtiers, who excited the Curiosity and Admiration of the People, and accustom'd 'em by their Example to respect his Authority. He Sign'd all Orders and Dispatches with his own Hand, took Cognizance of all Affairs, gave Audience to all sorts of Persons, and administer'd Justice with great Strictness and Severity. All Controversies and Suits about Religion, Revenues, and Buildings; and even Differences and Law-Suits betwixt Noblemen were pleaded before him, and decided by him. As he had always carry'd on the Wars in which he was engag'd without the Assistance of Generals; so he rul'd in peace without Ministers. He reign'd alone without either Favourites or Mistresses; and made his own Glory and the Happiness of his Subjects the only Object of his Passions, and the End of all his Designs. Some time before his Death he began to apply his Mind to the finding out of a suitable Match for his Eldest Son Prince *Eric*, that his Family might be supported by the Interest of a potent Alliance. In pursuance of that Design he cast his Eyes upon *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, who was then courted with great Assiduity by the most considerable Princes in *Europe*. But that politic Queen had the Art and Dexterity to manage her Lovers as she pleas'd, and to amuse 'em all with Hopes in their several Turns, according to her own Inclinations, and the posture of her Affairs; by which it appear'd that she had taken a secret and unalterable Resolution never to Marry any of 'em.

Gustavus sent an Embassy to *England*, to propose a strict Alliance and Confederacy betwixt the Two Nations; and Instructions were given to the Chief

1946. Ambassador to discover the Queen's Inclinations with respect to the Intended Match. *Denis Beure*, the Prince's Governor, obtain'd that Commission: He was a *Frenchman* by Birth, but a zealous *Calvinist*, and imagin'd, that if he cou'd negotiate that Match for his Pupil, he might one day establish *Calvinism* in Sweden.

Queen *Elizabeth* receiv'd, with all the External Marks of Kindness and Respect, the Proposals he made to her in the Name of his Master, relating to Trade, and the Alliance or League betwixt the Two Nations; and ev'n gave him a Favourable Answer with Respect to Prince *Eric*, tho' only in general Terms. The Ambassador fancying that all her Compliments and obliging Expressions were so many Declarations of Love, and that she had already given her Consent, return'd with all expedition to *Stockholm*, as if he had finish'd his Negotiation. He assur'd the King, that there was nothing wanting to bring that great Affair to perfection but the Prince's presence; and that he was confident his good Meen and personal Merit wou'd fix the Queen's Affections. In the mean time Prince *Eric*, flatter'd with so tempting a Prospect, and incited by his Tutor, endeavour'd to obtain Leave of his Father to take a Journey to *England*. But that Wise Prince wou'd not hazard the Honour of his Family by exposing the presumptive Heir of the Crown to a Refusal, nor wou'd he suffer him to go out of the Kingdom till the Articles were sign'd by the Queen of *England*.

And besides, there was perhaps a more important, tho' more secret Reason, that made the King so averse to that Voyage. Prince *Eric* was endow'd with several Qualities that were abundantly sufficient to recommend him to those whose Judgement lies in

1546.

in their Eyes; for Nature had bestow'd her Favors upon him with a very liberal hand, and there was nothing either in his Face or Person that cou'd offend the nicest and most curious Spectator. He had a Majestic Presence, an Air of Grandeur and Authority that drew respect from all Men, a fiery Briskness in all his Actions, and a certain impetuous Ardor, which is usually reputed a sure mark of Courage. But the Lustre of these External Advantages was obscur'd by some inward Defects that were not unknown to the King his Father, and which he was willing to hide from the *English*. For the young Prince inherited a sort of Extravagancy or Distraction from the Queen his Mother, which seiz'd upon his Brain by Fits, and was always attended with Transports of Fury. This Distemper render'd him subject to a certain peevish sullenness, which by an odd kind of Contagion, seem'd to infect all those who approach'd him. And even in his most lucid Intervals he discover'd so much Hardness and Wildness of Temper, that People were afraid of his Government, before the Succession was settl'd upon him.

These Considerations made such an Impression upon *Gustavus*, that he was sometimes resolv'd to leave the Crown to his Second Son, a Generous and Good-natur'd Prince, who by his affable and obliging Behaviour had won the Hearts of all those that were to be his Brother's Subjects. But that prudent Monarch, considering that such a Preference might kindle a Civil War both in his Family and Kingdom, resolv'd at last to regulate the Succession according to the Order of Birth-right: And in the mean time to satisfy Prince *Eric*, whom his Tutor had inspir'd with a violent Passion for Queen *Elizabeth*, he consented that Prince *John*, his Se-

1546. cond Son shou'd go to the Court of *England*, under pretence of Travelling, and endeavour to draw at least a Verbal Promise from the Queen.

The young Prince, at his Arrival in the *English* Court, was receiv'd by the Queen with all the most obliging Expressions of Kindness and Satisfaction. He had a share in all her Diversions; she treated him magnificently, and frequently invited him to Hunting. In short that wise and subtle Princess, who made all those Proposals of Marriage subservient to her Interest, and Politic Designs, omitted nothing that might amuse the young Prince, insinuating upon all occasions that both his Presence and Proposals were extreamly agreeable to her. But at the same time she cunningly avoided the Solicitations he us'd to bring her to a positive Engagement, by pretending that the present Posture of her Affairs wou'd not suffer her to conclude the Match so soon as her own Inclinations prompted her to desire. This was the usual Pretext with which she had amus'd so many Princes, whom she was willing to admit as Lovers, tho' she cou'd not resolve to accept e'm for Husbands.

Philip II. Upon the Return of Prince *John* to *Sweden*, the King presently concluded, from the account he gave him of his Negotiation in *England*, that his Eldest Son wou'd have no better Success in the pursuit of that Match than the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Alencon*, the Arch-Duke, the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Courtney*, and so many others, whom that Princess had flatter'd with the same hopes, one after another, and often at the same time. But Prince *Eric* was so deluded by his Passion and his Tutor's Suggestions, that he imagin'd his Presence wou'd surmount all the Difficulties that retarded his Happiness, and pretended that his Brother,

ther, instead of promoting the Match, had purposely endeavour'd to obstruct it, either out of Envy or Interest. He solicited the Senators and Officers of State, both with Intreaties and Menaces, to perswade the King to permit him to visit the *English Court*. *Gustavus*, considering his fierce and unruly Temper, and fearing that he wou'd either go without his Consent, or raise some Disturbance in the State, was at last prevail'd with to grant his desire, and nam'd the Persons that were to attend him.

But before he wou'd suffer his Son to depart, he made his Last Will, and divided his Dominions among the Princes his Children. He left his Crown to Prince *Eric*, the Dukedom of *Finland* to Prince *John*, *East Gothland* to *Magnus*, and *Sudermania* to *Charles*; with this Proviso, that the younger Sons shou'd hold their Respective Provinces by the Title of Principalities, but on condition of paying Homage and Fealty to the Crown of *Sweden*.

Prince *Eric* was so highly offended at this Distribution, that he was going to take up Arms to demand the Revocation and Disannulling of his Father's Testament; but the Fear of provoking a Prince, who was King of his Children as well as of his Subjects, restrain'd the natural Impetuosity of his Temper. He conceal'd his Anger for the present, with a Resolution to do himself Justice when the Supreme Authority shou'd fall into his hands; and was just ready to set sail for *England*, when he was detain'd at the Port of *Elfsburg* by the News he receiv'd of his Father's Decease.

That Great Prince was seiz'd at *Stockholm* with an inward Fever, that wasted him by degrees; yet he continu'd still to manage Affairs with his usual diligence and application, and resolv'd to Reign to the

1546. the last moment of his Life. Some hours before his Death he sent for *Eric Steno*, the Secretary of State, to whom he Dictated Memoirs concerning the most secret Affairs of the Kingdom. Alſoon as that Officer was diſmiſt he call'd for the young Princes, and charg'd 'em to love one another, and to ſubmit peaceably to their Brother, who was now going to be their Sovereign. Then he gave him his Bleſſing, and made 'em preſently withdraw, leſt his Mind ſhou'd be diſcompos'd by the Tears of his Children. He diſmiſt even his Phyſicians, who in that extremity continu'd ſtill to flatter him with hopes of Life, that he might ſpend his laſt Moments without diſturbance in fixing his Thoughts wholly upon God. Thus he died peaceably, in the Arms of his Servants, in the Seventieth year of his Age. His Body was carry'd to *Upſal*, where his Funeral was ſolemniz'd with Publick Oration and Panegyrics, with the Tears of all his Subjects, and with the grateful Remembrance of his Great and Glorious Actions.

1560.
Sept. 29.

His Advancement was meerly the Effect of his Valour; but tho' he was born a Subject, he reign'd with as abſolute a Power, as if his Birth had entitl'd him to the Crown. He alter'd the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and made the Laws of the Kingdom and the Property of his Subjects depend intirely upon his Pleaſure; and yet dy'd ador'd by the People, and admir'd by the Nobility. The introducing of *Lutheraniſm* into the Kingdom has left a ſtain upon his Memory, that expoſes him to the juſt Cenſures of thoſe who reflect upon the fatal Conſequences of that Revolution. His Guilt may indeed be leſſen'd by a charitable Conjecture, that at firſt he only intended to reform the Abaſes of the Clergy, or at moſt to employ part of thoſe vaſt Eſtates, which

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at that time were possess'd by the Bishops, in the necessary defence of the Kingdom. But tho' a Fault of this nature will not admit of an Apology, it must be acknowledg'd that in all other respects he deserves the Praise and Admiration of Posterity. He left his Kingdom in Peace with all his Neighbours, secur'd by a League with *France*, and enrich'd by a flourishing Trade with all the Nations of *Europe*: The Revenues of the Crown were much augmented, the Public Treasury full, and the Arsenals well furnish'd: There was a considerable Navy in the Ports, the Frontier places were fortify'd; and, in a word, *Sweden* was in a condition to strike her Enemies with Terror, and inspire her Allies with Respect.

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A Chronological Abridgment of the Swedish History.

Historians are usually so fond of the Reputation of their Country, and are apt to assert the Antiquity of its Original with so extravagant a zeal, that a considering Person will hardly venture to depend upon the Authority of the Authors of Ancient Chronicles, and the Accounts they have left us of those distant and obscure Ages. If they can find, among the Ancient Hero's, or even among the first Inhabitants of this World, a Person whose Name has the least Affinity to that of their Country, they conclude immediately that he was the Founder of their Nation, and establish the Truth of their Hypothesis upon the Credit of a forc'd Etymology. But in my Opinion there are no Writers that are either so credulous or partial as these who have publish'd an entire Body of the Swedish History: For if we may give credit to their relations, that Kingdom is the *Ancientest Monarchy* in Europe. They tell us that Magog, Noah's Grandson travell'd from Scythia to Finland; and from thence coasted the Bothnick Gulph to Gothland, where he settl'd his Son Gethar or Gog, who according to these Historians, was the first Prince of the Goths, and the Founder of the Race of their Kings. I will not undertake, in this place to decide that celebrated Question, whether Sweden be the original Habitation, or only a Colony of the ancient Goths. Both these Opinions are asserted by several Authors. But I am fully satisfy'd, that 'twou'd be a difficult Task to give a clear and distinct Account of the first Inhabitants of Sweden, from whence they came, and when they began to settle in that Country. Nor wou'd it be less difficult to prove, what those ancient Chroniclers seem to suppose, that Sweden was Govern'd by Kings almost as soon as it was Peopl'd; for 'tis probable, that the Fathers and Heads of Families were the first Princes

of the Earth, and that Men did not voluntarily submit to a Monarchical Government, till they were convinc'd, by a long Experience, of the Inconveniencies of a wild and tumultuous Liberty.

But, supposing some ancient Manuscript had faithfully preserv'd the Names of the several Lords that have Govern'd Sweden, since the Original Foundation of that Monarchy; who can tell whether they were Kings, or only Princes of some particular Country, or perhaps Judges and Captains in their respective Jurisdictions? And 'tis even not improbable that those Princes and Captains, whose Names are preserv'd, were Cotemporary, and at the same time Governors of several Provinces; and that the reason why Historians rank'd 'em in a successive Order, was that they might have a longer series of Kings, to fill up their Chronology. In the mean time 'tis certain, that there is no fixt Æra to be found in the History of Sweden, till about the middle of the Twelfth Age; before which time the Relations of that Country are full of Darkness and Confusion, the History is intermixt with Fables, and embellish'd with fictitious Wonders, extract'd from old Legends, or ancient Songs in heroick Verse, which were the only Annals of those Times.

The Hero's and Princes of those remote Ages, are always represented either as Giants or Magicians, who signalize their Strength and pretended skill by open Robberies and all the most Barbarous effects of Fury and Revenge. Justice and Honesty were so far from being practis'd, that the very Names of these Virtues were not known among those rude and unciviliz'd Nations. Force was the supream Law; the Power and Violence of an Oppressor entitl'd him to the respect and esteem of the People, and 'twas reckon'd inconsistent with the honour of a Prince to marry a Princess, before he had ravish'd her. The killing of a wild Beast in the sight of the gazing Rabble, or the Surprizing and Assassinating of an Enemy in his House, were look'd upon as exploits worthy of immortal Honour: And a fortunate Murderer was not only admir'd as a Hero during his Life, but ador'd as a Deity after his death.

How-

However I thought fit to present the Reader with a Catalogue of those ancient Monarchs, as they stand recorded in the Swedish Chronicles, beginning with Eric I. who reign'd 2000 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, if we may give credit to the usual computation of those who have compil'd the Annals of that Kingdom. I have mark'd the Chronology in the Margin, according to the opinion of those Authors: But I dare not undertake to warrant the Truth of their Relations, till the confusion and uncertainty of the Story begins to be lessen'd by the nearness of the Prospect, and the exactness of the Historians.

The Fabulous History of Sweden.

Eric I.

Years
of the
World.

1849.

THIS Prince's Birth is altogether unknown to us, nor are we better inform'd of the means he us'd to make himself Master of his Country, or of what pass'd under his Government. Some Authors relate, that he sent considerable Colonies to the Islands of the *Cimbric Chersonese*, which at present are part of the Kingdom of *Denmark*; but the *Danish* Historians will not acknowledge the Truth of a Story that seems to have been invented by some *Swedish* Writer, to raise his Country to the Honour of Antiquity, and at the same time to a kind of Superiority over the neighbouring Nations.

Udo, Alo, Othen, Charles I. Bjorn, Gethar, Gylfo.

We have no account of the Reigns of these Princes, and the very Fable is here at a stand; only their Names are preserv'd. By some Authors they are call'd Judges: Nor is it known whether they govern'd

2020.

govern'd at the same time, or successively in several Provinces of the Kingdom.

An Interval of 400 Years, during which the Fabulous History is altogether silent.

Othin.

2600. A famous Magician, commanded the Winds as he pleas'd, assum'd the form of any wild Beast, and had Intelligence of what pass'd in the remotest Places, by the means of two Domestick Demons. The Report of his wonderful Skil kept his Enemies in awe, and inspir'd his Subjects with so profound a veneration and respect for him, that after his Decease they enroll'd him among the Gods. The Stories of Magicians and Witches found an easy admittance into the belief and admiration of those credulous and ignorant Ages.

Humbius.

2637. If we may rely upon the Testimony of the *Swedish* Historians, this Prince settl'd his eldest Son *Dan* in the *Cimbric Chersonese*, who left his Name to the Country. He sent *Norus*, his second Son, to the Northern Provinces, where he founded the Kingdom of *Norway*. One may easily perceive, that this Story is founded upon the Affinity of the Names *Dan* with *Danemark*, and *Norus* with *Norway*.

Sigtrug.

2712. History is altogether silent concerning the Fortune and Adventures of the Posterity of *Humbius*: Only 'tis observ'd by the *Swedish* Authors, that *Sigtrug* Usurp'd the supream Power. 'Tis plain, that at that time there was no settl'd Form of Government in *Sweden*; and 'tis probable the Crown was only Hereditary, when the Sons of the deceast King were strong enough to maintain themselves in that station; nor were they advanc'd to it, till they had

had signaliz'd themselves by some bold and extraordinary exploit.

Suibdager,

King of *Norway*, Conquer'd *Denmark* from *Gram* 2821.
King of *Cepers*. The *Swedes* charm'd with his Valour, or aw'd by his Power, chose him for their Sovereign; by which Election he was advanc'd to the Sovereignty of the three Northern Kingdoms. This Prince, according to the *Swedish* History, is the first Foreigner upon whom the Crown was conferr'd.

Hasinund,

Son and Successor of *Suibdager*, was slain in a Battle against the *Danes*. 2891.

Uffo,

Son and Successor, of *Hasinund*, carry'd on the War against the *Danes* with success; but at last *Hading*, King of *Denmark*, under colour of an Interview for a Treaty of Peace, drew him into a place, where he caus'd him to be Assassinated. 2939.

Huning,

Uffo's Brother and Successor, after a Bloody War which he undertook against the King of *Denmark* to revenge the Death of his Brother, chang'd of a sudden his violent hatred against his Enemy into an excess of Friendship. A Solemn Peace was concluded betwixt the two Princes, with a Solemn Oath on both sides, that upon the Death of either, the other shou'd not survive him. It happen'd not long after, that *Hading* was falsely reported to have been Assassinated by his own Daughter; which *Huning* believing, resolv'd to die according to his promise. In pursuance of this design, he regal'd his Friends and the chief Persons of the Kingdom with a sumptuous Entertainment, 2983.

and at the conclusion of the Feast, being Drunk, he threw himself into a deep Tub full of Mead, where he was drown'd. *Huding* was vext at the News, but resolving to imitate the Generosity of his Friend, he very courageously Hang'd himself in the sight of all his People; if there be any credit to be given to those *Ancient Histories*, or rather to the Histories of those *Ancient Ages*.

Regner,

3031. The Son and Successor of *Huning*, was made King of *Sweden*, notwithstanding all the opposition of his Mother-in-Law *Torilla*. He Govern'd his Subjects with much Equity and Moderation; But these peaceful Virtues were so far from procuring him the Love and Esteem of a Cruel and Barbarous People, that he was slighted and contemn'd, because he wou'd not gratify their savage Humour by Plundering the Neighbouring Countries, and perhaps also because he was too generous to cause his private Enemies to be Assassinated.

Hothebrod,

3060. The Son and Successor of *Regner*, was a warlike and daring Prince, and undertook several fortunate Expeditions against the *Finlanders*, *Russes*, *Esthonians* and *Curlandians*: After which he Attack'd *Roe* King of *Denmark*, whom he kill'd at the Head of his Army. He pursu'd the Victory with so much vigor, that he made himself Master of the whole Kingdom: But he did not long enjoy his Conquest; for the *Danes* revolting at the instigation of *Helgo Roe's* Brother, *Hothebrod* was routed and kill'd, and the *Swedes* were expell'd out of *Denmark*. These pretended Conquests of Kingdoms were only Inrodes made by the victorious party into the Enemies Country. For since there were no places of strength where Garrisons cou'd be left to secure the Conquest,

quest, as soon as the Victorious Army retir'd with their Booty, the Conquer'd Nation took up Arms and chose a new King or Captain, to Command 'em.

Attila I,

Succeeded his Father *Hothebrod*, and Marri'd the Mother of *Rool* King of *Denmark*. But that Match instead of producing a lasting Peace between the two Kingdoms, and a good Understanding betwixt the Kings, serv'd only to re-kindle the War with greater fury than ever. The Queen of *Sweden* having seiz'd upon the Treasury of the King her Husband, fled to her Son in *Denmark*. *Attila* incens'd at her perfidiousness, invaded *Denmark* with his Forces, and routed the *Danes*. *Rool* was defeated and kill'd by one of the *Swedish* Generals; and *Hother*, *Attila*'s Brother was made King of *Denmark*. 3125.

Hother,

King of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, routed the *Danes*, who revolted at the instigation of *Balder*, a Prince of that Nation; after which he march'd against the *Russes*, but lost his Life in that Expedition. 3174.

Roderic.

This Victorious Prince, reveng'd his Father's Death by the defeat of the *Russes*, and subdu'd the *Finlanders*, *Wendi*, and *Slavonians*. 3252.

Attila II,

The Son and Successor of *Roderick*; he fought a single Combat at the Head of his Army with *Frovia* the General of the *Danish* Forces, and kill'd him. *Frovia* left two Sons, who as soon as they were grown up to Age went to *Sweden*, and offer'd their service to *Attila*, pretending to be Soldiers of Fortune. They were receiv'd into the King's House whom they afterwards Assassinated to revenge the Death of their Father. 3336.

**Botwil, Charles II, Gimmer,
Lordon, Gothar, Adolphus,
Algot, Eric II. Lindorp.**

3351. The Fabulous Chronology mentions only the names of those Nine Princes, without relating their Adventures, or so much as the length of their Reigns.

Alaric.

3916. Under this Prince's Reign the *Swedish* Monarchy was divided into two Kingdoms, *Alaric* reigning in *Sweden*, and *Gestibland* in both the *Gothlands*. This Division and the Neighbourhood of two Barbarous Nations, occasion'd Bloody Wars betwixt 'em. *Alaric*, according to the custom of those Times, challeng'd *Gestibland* to a single Combat; who declin'd it by reason of his Age, but offer'd to substitute *Eric* Prince of *Norway*, who was come to his Assistance. The two Champions fought with all the Fury and Obstinacy that Men are capable of, when they resolve either to Conquer or die. *Alaric* was slain; and *Gestibland*, to reward *Eric*'s Valour, not only gave him the Crown of *Sweden*, but appointed him his Successor in the Kingdom of *Gothland*; by which means these two Crowns were not long after reunited upon the Head of that Prince.

Eric III. surnam'd the Wise.

3931. This Prince liv'd in a profound Peace, and apply'd himself wholly to the Administration of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws. This procur'd him the surname of *Wise*, which he prefer'd to that of *Brave* or *Courageous*, tho' he really deserv'd the latter by the Valour he shew'd in the Combat he fought with King *Alaric*.

Haldan

Haldan I,

The Son and Successor of *Eric the Wise*; he signaliz'd himself in the Wars of *Norway*, and restor'd *Fricdelef* King of *Denmark* to his Fathers Throne, from which he had been expell'd by an Usurper. Returning to *Sweden* at the Head of a Victorious Army, he resolv'd to make his Will the only Standard and Rule of his Government. Upon which his Subjects revolted, his Officers and Soldiers forsook him, and he was at last put to Death by the Malecontents.

A. C.
43.

Siward,

Haldan's Son was own'd for his Successor, upon condition that none shou'd be molested about the Death of his Father. Under this Prince's reign the *Goths* were again separated from the *Swedish* Monarchy, and chose for their King a Prince call'd *Charles* of the Family of their Ancient Kings; who to establish his Authority, made a League with *Harald* King of *Denmark*, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage. *Siward*, to prevent the ill consequences of that Confederacy gave his Daughter *Uvilda* to *Frotho* the King of *Denmark's* Brother, who by reason of his Valour was more respected among the *Danes*, than the King his Brother. These cross Matches kindl'd a civil War in *Denmark*, and *Frotho* was supported by those who admir'd, and endeavour'd to imitate his Bravery. He fought with the King his Brother, routed his Army, and slew him with his own hand in the heat of the Fight. King *Harald* left two Sons, *Haldan* and *Harald*, who, to revenge their Father's Death, surpriz'd *Frotho* in his House, burnt him alive, and ston'd Queen *Uvilda*. This furious piece of Revenge, which was esteem'd by those Barbarous People as a most brave and generous Action, made all the *Danes* unani-

100.

unanimously resolve to follow the young Princes. They March'd into *Sweden*, gave Battle to King *Siward*, cut his Army in pieces, and slew him in the Fight.

Eric IV.

169. The two victorious Brothers divided their Conquests; *Denmark* falling to *Harald's* lot, and *Sweden* to *Haldan's*. But the *Swedes* set up *Eric*, *Siward's* Grand-son against *Haldan*; which occasion'd a new civil War. *Eric* obtain'd several victories on Land. But *Harald*, coming with a great Fleet to his Brother's Assistance, routed *Eric's* Navy, who rather than submit to his Enemies Mercy threw himself into the Sea.

Haldan II,

187. Succeeded *Eric*, according to the custom of those Times, when the Crown and Dominions of the Vanquish'd Prince were always the Conquerour's Reward. This Prince slew with his own hand two monstrous Giants, and fought afterwards alone against *Siward* and his seven Sons, whom he kill'd in a single Combat: Such great Exploits procur'd him the admiration of the *Swedes*, who celebrated his praise in their Heroick Songs, and after his Decease rank'd him among their greatest Heroes.

Unguin.

194. This Prince, who was already King of the *Goths*, was appointed by *Haldan* for his Successor to the Crown of *Sweden*. But the *Swedes* resolving to maintain their Priviledge of chusing their own Master, Elected *Ragnald*. One Battle decided the Difference, in which *Unguin* was slain by *Ragnald*.

Ragnald.

Ragnald.

This Prince, not contented with the Death and 203.
Defeat of King *Unguin*, pursu'd *Sigwald* his Son to
Denmark, whither he had retir'd, who, being assist-
ed by the *Danes*, gave him Battle in *Seland*, and
kill'd him with his own Hand at the Head of both
Armies.

Amund.

He succeeded his Father *Ragnald*, and contented 220.
himself with the Possession of the Crown without
undertaking any Considerable Attempt. He had
four Sons who resided in the Court of *Denmark*,
where they occasion'd great disorders. If we may
believe the Chronicles, 'twas the usual custom of
Young Princes in those Times to Travel thro' the
Neighboring Countries in quest of hazardous Ad-
ventures to signalize their Courage and Valour.
To kill a *Giant* in single Combat, or a *Wild Beast*
in the presence of a King; to carry away a *Young*
Princess, and to Debauch or Ravish a *Queen*, were
reckon'd among their Noblest Exploits, and worthy
of Immortal Honor. And the bold *Hero* at his re-
turn to his Countrey was always preferr'd before the
rest of his Brothers when the Throne became vacant
by his Father's Death.

Haquin.

This Prince during the life of his Father *Amund*, 226.
invaded *Denmark*, routed King *Sigar* in a pitch'd
Battle, and put the whole Country under Milita-
ry Execution, to revenge the Death of his Bro-
thers, who were kill'd by the King of *Denmark*'s or-
der. He was advanc'd to the Throne after his Fa-
ther's

ther's Death, and had the good fortune to die in peace; nor was the tranquillity of his Reign disturb'd by any Civil or Foreign War.

Osten.

230. He was the Son of *Gether* King of *Norway*, and obtain'd the Crown of *Sweden* by Election. To revenge his Father's Death, who was Assassinated by the *Norwegians* for his cruelty; he enter'd that Kingdom at the head of his Army, and having destroy'd the whole Country with Fire and Sword, without sparing either Age or Sex, he appointed his *Dog* to reign over 'em, as reckoning 'em unworthy to obey a *Man*. Perhaps this Story is a meer Fable occasion'd by a punning Allusion to the Name of the Person whom he intrusted with the Government during his absence; tho', if we consider the wild and barbarous Genius of that Age, it, may not improbably be suppos'd that he gave the Title of *Viceroy* to a real *Dog*: Nor will that Act of Revenge seem more surprizingly extravagant, than the fantastical Humor of a certain *Roman* Emperor, who made his *Horse* a *Consul*.

Caligula.

Alber.

235. This Prince being one of the most considerable Persons of the *Swedish* Nation was chosen King after the Death of *Osten*. He defeated the *Russians*, and made 'em tributary to the Crown of *Sweden*. He died in Peace after a short Reign.

Ingo.

Ingo.

He was chosen King after the Death of his Father *Alver*, and fix'd his residence at *Upsal*, which he made the Capital City of the Kingdom. His Successors oftentimes assum'd the Title of Kings of *Upsal*, to distinguish themselves from other *Petty Sovereigns*; who founded little *Monarchies* in several Provinces of the Kingdom. 240.

Fiolmus.

History has only preserv'd the *Name* of this Prince, without acquainting us with his Actions or with the length of his Reign: Nor are the succeeding Princes for a Hundred Years so much as mention'd in the *Swedish* Chronicles. 262.

Ingell.

He was so incens'd at his Brother *Olaus* for admonishing him of his Wife's Infidelity, that he became his declar'd Enemy. But the Quarrel was soon decided by the Death of *Ingell*, who was kill'd by *Olaus*. 378.

Germunder,

The Son and Successor of *Ingell*. He declar'd War against *Harald* King of *Denmark*, his Brother-in-Law, who finding himself unable to sustain the Shock of so potent an Enemy, begg'd a Peace, and having obtain'd it, desir'd *Germunder* to make a visit to the Queen his Sister. Immediately that unfortunate Prince Disbanded his Army, and went to the Court of *Denmark*, where he was apprehended and afterwards hang'd by the Command of the Treach- 382.

Treacherous *Harald*, in the sight of all his Vassals whom he invited to be Witnesses of that dismal Spectacle.

'Twas not the custom in those days to exchange Hostages; the Kings kept no Guards, nor did their Household consist of a numerous Train of Officers. During the War they were serv'd by the principal Persons of the Nation; but as soon as a Peace was concluded, every man retir'd to his own House, and left the Prince alone with his Family and Domestic Servants.

Haquin Kingo.

387.

No sooner was the Young Prince able to bear Arms, but he resolv'd to revenge his Father's Death upon his Faithless Murderer. In order to the effectual Execution of that design he us'd more than ordinary diligence in levying Forces, and entertain'd all the stragling Adventurers that wou'd enter into his Service. The Neighboring Nations engag'd in the Quarrel according to their various Interests, or the Designs and Inclinations of their Sovereigns: The *English*, *Irish*, and *Saxons* declar'd for the King of *Denmark*, and *Haquin* was Assisted by the *Norwegians*, *Curlandians* and *Esthonians*. The two contending Princes Arm'd all their Subjects, and even the *Women* were inspir'd with a generous Ambition to obtain a share both in the Hazard and Glory of so important an Action. *Hetha* Commanded a company of *Women* in the *Swedish* Army, and *Visna* march'd under the *Danish* Standards. At last the two Armies came to a decisive Battle, in which *Harald* was kill'd, and the victorious *Haquin* having made himself Master of *Denmark* entrusted *Hetha* with the Government of that Conquer'd Kingdom. Historians observe that the King of *Sweden* ow'd his Victory to the Valour of the *Dalcarlians*; who in-

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habit one of the Northern Provinces of that Country.

Egil.

The Son and Successor of *Haquin*. He impos'd a 399.
Tribute upon *Amund* King of *Denmark*, subdu'd a
seditious party that rebell'd against him, and after
all was unfortunately kill'd by a Wild Ox at Hunt-
ing.

Gother.

He seiz'd and carry'd away the Daughter of 405.
Amund King of *Denmark*, and conquer'd *Schonen* and
Haland which belong'd to the *Danes*. At last he
was kill'd by his own Subjects who revolted against
him for establishing some new Laws that seem'd to
encroach on the Priviledges and Liberty of the Na-
tion.

Adelus.

Gother was succeeded by his Son *Adelus*, whose 433.
reign is remarkable for his successful Expedition a-
gainst the *Danes* to revenge the Death of his Sister
who lost her life by the ill-grounded jealonsie of her
Husband, *Jammeric* King of *Denmark*. The King
of *Sweden* invaded *Denmark* and besieg'd that cruel
Prince who was no less odious to his own Subjects
than to his Enemies. *Jammeric* was taken after a
Siege that lasted some Months, and his Legs and
Arms were cut off by the Victorious *Swedes*, who
pillag'd his Treasures, and reunited the Provinces
of *Schonen*, *Haland* and *Bleking* to *Gothland*, from
which they were formerly dismember'd.

Osian.

Ottan.

437. This Prince lost both his Crown and his Life by endeavouring to impose a Tax upon his Subjects: for that fierce People, who were extremely jealous of their Liberty, were so incens'd against a Prince, whom they look'd upon as an Oppressor, that having surpriz'd him in his House, they Burnt him and his whole Family.

'Tis plain from this instance, and from the History of the preceeding Kings, that the fate of those Princes seem'd to be in the Power, and to depend upon the Humor of their Subjects.

Ingomar.

453. Historians relate that *Gothland* was at that time subject to a distinct King, who had a Daughter of admirable Beauty, which is the usual Character of all the Princesses that are mention'd in those Ancient Histories. *Snio* King of *Denmark* and *Ingomar* King of *Sweden* were both Captivated by the Charms of that young Beauty; and tho' the former was more agreeable to the Daughter, the latter was prefer'd by the Father, who made the King of *Sweden* happy in the Possession of his Mistress with the Reversion of a Crown for her Dowry. The King of *Denmark* cou'd not patiently bear the loss of so considerable a Prize: He enter'd *Sweden* at the Head of an Army, and having vanquish'd his Rival, he seiz'd on the fair Queen, who without reluctancy follow'd the Conqueror of her Husband. But *Ingomar* was rather irritated than discourag'd by his misfortune: He made new Levies, invaded *Denmark*, routed and kill'd *Snio*, and was so far from scrupling to receive his Beautiful Wife, that the difficulty of the Conquest serv'd only to heighten the pleasure of the

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the *Victory*. At last he was kill'd in a War which he undertook against the *Russes*.

Halstan I. Raguard, Martman,
Lordon, Rodolph, Gostag, Ar-
thur, Haquin, Charles I V.
Charles V. Birger, Eric V.
Toril, Bion II. Alaric II.

Here there is a long Interruption in the *Swedish* 460.
History; for tho' the Names of the Princes who Govern'd that Kingdom from the Year 460 to the beginning of the *Nimb* Age are preserv'd, the Memory of their Actions is entirely lost, neither do we find in the Chronicles so much as an account of their Families.

Bion III.

The reign of this Prince may be reckon'd a consi- 816.
derable *Era* in the History of *Sweden*: For the Emperor *Lewis the Gentle* sent *Angsarus* Bishop of *Breme*, who preach'd the *Christian* Doctrin in that Kingdom, and converted several Petty Kings. But notwithstanding all the labours of that Prelate, *Idol-
latry* prevail'd in the Kingdom till the end of the Tenth Age, when the People began to erect Churches to the Honor of the true *G O D*, under the Reign of King *Olaus the Tributary*, who openly profess the *Christian* Religion.

824.

Braut-amund.

This Prince perceiving that the People were ve-
ry numerous, Disforested the Woody and Untill'd
K Grounds

Grounds and bestow'd 'em on his Subjects, who by way of acknowledgment were oblig'd either to pay a certain Tribute, or to Assist the King on Horse-back in time of War. From hence we may reckon the Original of the *Fiefs* of this Kingdom, which at first held immediately of the Crown, but were afterwards usurp'd by the Clergy and Nobility. King *Brant-amund* did not long enjoy the Advantage of this new settlement; for his Brother *Sivard* rebell'd against him, and kill'd him at the head of his Army, in the third Year of his Reign.

Sivard II.

827. The *Swedes* immediately plac'd the Crown on the head of the Victorious Rebel, while he was yet stain'd with the Blood of his Brother and Sovereign: For in those Days *Force* was the supreme Law, and a fortunate Malefactor was prais'd and rewarded for a Crime that wou'd have been severely punish'd if it had not been attended with success. *Sivard* seeing himself fixt on the Throne Invaded the *Norwegians*, whom he surpriz'd before they cou'd put themselves in a posture of defence: He pillag'd the whole Country, ravish'd the most Beautiful Women, and after he had satiated his own Lust, left 'em to be abus'd by the chief Captains of his Army. But these Barbarities were in some measure expiated by the speedy Vengeance that overtook the impious Tyrant: The *Norwegians*, animated with Despair and Fury, made head against their Oppressor, the very Women ran to Arms, and *Sivard* himself fell by the hand of one of those *Heroins* whom he had abus'd; as a Sacrifice to her injur'd Vertue, and to the Honor of the Nation.

Herot.

Herot.

This Prince had a Daughter who was reputed 834.
a compleat Beauty: *Regner* King of *Denmark* de-
manded her for his Wife; but the King of *Sweden*,
according to the usual custom of those Times wou'd
not bestow the Princess upon him till he had signa-
liz'd his Courage by fighting against two *Bears*
of a prodigious bigness, who infested the Country
about *Upsal*. *Regner* accepted the condition, slew
the two *Bears*, and receiv'd the dear Recompence
of his Valour. Some Authors relate that these pre-
tended *Bears* were two *Robbers* who made a terrible
havock in the Country, and for that Reason were
call'd *Wild Beasts* by the People.

Charles VI.

He was Elected by the unanimous consent of the 856.
Swedes, *Herot's* Children being excluded from the
Succession. One of the Sons of the Deceas'd King
was incited by his Brother-in-Law, *Regner* King of
Denmark, to oppose the pretended injustice of that
Election. Great preparations were made on both
sides, and at last they came to a decisive Battle, which
put an end to the dispute by the Death of both
the Competitors. But tho' neither of the two con-
tending Parties cou'd boast of their success; *Reg-
ner* look'd upon the defeat of both as an impor-
tant Victory, and during the general disorder made
his Son *Biorn*, King of *Sweden*.

Biorn IV.

Biorn was the Son of *Regner* King of *Denmark*, 868.
and Grandson of *Herot* King of *Sweden*. He endea-
vor'd to make himself the absolute Master of his

Subjects, and treated 'em as conquer'd Slaves. But he was at last convinc'd of the impracticableness of that attempt, and that he had to do with a People who lov'd their Liberty too well to suffer a Stranger to deprive 'em of it; for they took up Arms against their Oppressor, and forc'd him to retire to *Norway*.

Ingiald.

940. After the flight of *Biorn*, *Ingiald*, the Grandson of *Braut-amund*, was advanc'd to the Throne at the desire of the whole Nation. 'Tis said that he was nourish'd in his Youth with the Hearts of *Wolves*, to make him Strong and Fierce, and that his Temper and Actions were suitable to his Food and Education. The Inauguration of the Prince, and the Ceremony of taking Possession of the Crown consisted at that time in a splendid Feast, to which all the principal Persons of the Kingdom were invited by their new Sovereign. As soon as the Entertainment was over, a large Vessel call'd *Bragagebar* was fill'd with Wine, which the Prince was oblig'd to Drink up before he mounted the Throne. Then he Swore solemnly to extend the Limits of the Kingdom, and to make his Enemies feel the weight of his Sword. *Ingiald* took this Oath at his Accession to the Crown, which was accompany'd with all the usual Ceremonies. Most of the Provinces in the Kingdom were at that time subject to distinct Kings, who only pay'd Homage to the King of *Upsal* when they were over-aw'd by his Power. *Ingiald*, according to the custom, invited 'em to the Solemnity of his Coronation, and regal'd 'em with a great deal of Magnificence; but the Scene was chang'd at night: For the King of *Upsal* resolving to rid himself of so many petty Sovereigns who seldom own'd his Authority but when they were forc'd

forc'd to obey him, order'd 'em to be burnt in the House whither they retir'd after the Feast, and immediately seiz'd upon their *Estates*, and on the Government of their Provinces. This open violation of the Law of Nations, and of the publick Liberty of *Sweden*, render'd the King so odious to his People, that when his Dominions were invaded by the King of *Denmark*, they refus'd to Assist him. Thus he saw in himself a memorable Instance of the Vanity of a meer *titular Sovereignty*, and of the weakness of a King that does not reign in the Hearts of his Subjects. The *Danish* Army advanc'd without opposition, and the unfortunate *Ingiold* fearing lest he shou'd fall into the Hands of his Enemy, burnt himself in his House with his whole Family.

Olaus Tratelia.

The surname of *Tratelia* was given him, because, 891.
in imitation of King *Brant-amund*, he disforested several Lands, which he bestow'd as *Fiefs* upon his Subjects; so that almost all the till'd Ground in the Kingdom was at that time tributary to the Crown.

Ingo II.

The Son and Successor of *Olaus*. He was a *Peace-* 900.
able Prince, and consequently despis'd by his fierce Subjects, who delighted in nothing else but *War*.

Eric VI.

He ow'd his Advancement to his own subtlety, 907.
and to the superstition of the *Swedes* who took him for a profound *Magician*. He perswaded 'em that
K 3 the

the Winds and Tempests were at his disposal, and by that means easily gain'd the Respect and Admiration of a rude and barbarous Nation.

Eric VII. surnam'd the Victorious.

917. This Prince is somewhat better known in History than his Predecessors. He cross'd the *Baltick* Sea with an Army, made a Descent in *Livonia*, and subdu'd that Province. He enlarg'd his Dominions with the Addition of the Provinces of *Schonen* and *Haland* which he conquer'd from the *Danes*, and after a long series of Victories di'd, below'd of his Subjects, and fear'd by his Neighbors and Enemies.

Eric VIII.

940. He was converted by two Priests, call'd *Adelward* and *Steven*, who came from *Hamburgh* to Preach the *Christian* Doctrin in *Sweden*; and signaliz'd his Zeal by ordering the Idolatrous Temple at *Upsal* to be demolish'd. But the People looking upon that Action as a Sacrilegious contempt of their Gods, Assassinated the King and the two *German* Missionaries; so that both he and they seem to have a just right to the glorious Title of *Martyrs*.

Olaus the Tributary.

980. He succeeded his Brother *Eric*, and was so far from being discourag'd by that Prince's cruel and untimely Death, that he made open profession of the *Christian* Religion. Some Authors reckon him the first *Christian* King of *Sweden*, because under his Reign there were several Churches built to the Honor of the true God, and the People were generally converted to the *Christian* Faith, by the Ministry

tery of certain *English* Priests, who notwithstanding the seeming Purity of their Zeal, were accus'd of promoting their own Interest, and carrying on their Politick designs under the specious pretext of propagating the Gospel. For 'twas by their advice that *Olaus* made his Kingdom subject to the Holy-See, and oblig'd his Subjects to pay a certain Tribute to the Pope, which was commonly call'd *Peter's Pence*. But his Successors soon grew weary of that Religious Bondage, and abrogated an imposition that was found to be burdensome to the People, and prejudicial to the Crown.

Amund the Burner,

The Son and Successor of *Olaus*. He was surnam'd the *Burner*, because he ordain'd that when any man injur'd his Neighbor, his House shou'd be burnt; from whence it may be observ'd that the *Swedes* were still a very rude and barbarous People about the beginning of the eleventh Age. This Prince was kill'd in a Battel against *Canut the Rich*, King of *Denmark*.

1019.

Emund Slenume.

The difference betwixt the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* concerning *Schonen* was terminated by a Treaty to the prejudice of the former, which made the King odious to his Subjects. For they cou'd not endure that he shou'd acknowledge that Province to belong to the Crown of *Denmark*, which they had always reckon'd a part of *Gothland*. 'Tis almost impossible to read the History of these Nations without observing the many advantages that a crafty Politician has over a blunt Soldier; for there is hardly one Treaty recorded in their Chronicles, in which a considering Reader may not find several

1035.

remarkable Instances of the subtlety of the *Danish* Ministers in the Management of Negotiations. Their *Wit* did more Execution than the *Swedish* Valour; and with one dash of a *Pen* they cou'd easily heal the Wounds they receiv'd by the *Swords* of their Enemies.

Haquin the Red.

1041. After the Death of *Amund* there was a warm dispute about the Election of a new King. The *Swedes* Voted for *Stenchil* whose Mother was *Olaus* the *Tributarie's* Daughter: And the People of *Gothland* declar'd unanimously for their Country-man *Haquin*, who was the Son of a Peasant, but celebrated for his Valor and Courage. However the two Competitors submitted to a friendly Agreement, tho' in those Times such controversies were wont to be decided in a single Combat. *Haquin* who was already very Ancient Reign'd First, and left the Crown to *Stenchil*, who was appointed to Succeed him.

Stenchil II.

1059. He made it his principal care to execute the Laws and defend the Establish'd Religion; but the Kingdom did not long enjoy the blessing of so Wise and Pious a Prince. He left two Sons, who contended so eagerly about the Succession, that they took up Arms, and were both kill'd in the Dispute.

Ingo III.

1061. The whole Nation approv'd the Election of a Prince, who was worthy of their Esteem and Affection; for he was not inferior to his Predecessor either in Piety or Justice. He made an express Law to abolish Idolatrous Sacrifices, and endeavor'd to curb

curb and subdue several petty Tyrants that oppress the People, but he perish'd in the Attempt; for he was surpriz'd in his House, and Barbarously Murder'd by the disaffected Party.

Halstan,

Succeeded his Brother *Ingo*. He was Naturally of a mild and gentle Temper; he took pleasure in doing good, and even had the prudence and good Fortune to make the *Swedes* love and admire these peaceful Vertues. 1064.

Philip,

Succeeded his Father *Halstan* both in his Dignity and Vertues. Here the Chronicles begin to take notice of the Illustrious Family of the *Folquingians*, who were intrusted with a very considerable share in the Government by several succeeding Princes. 1080.

Ingo IV,

Succeeded his Father *Philip*, and imitated his Predecessors in his zeal for the Advancement of Religion, and in the care he took to Administer Justice and put the Laws in execution against obstinate Offenders. He was poison'd by some *Ostrogoth* Lords who dreaded his Power and Justice. 1110.

Under the five last Reigns, *Sweden* enjoy'd a profound and uninterrupted Peace. This may be justly reckon'd the *Golden Age* of that Monarchy, during which the publick Tranquillity was neither disturb'd by *Civil* nor *Foreign* Wars. And it ought to be observ'd that the People ow'd their Happiness to the Wisdom and Moderation of those Princes, who were equally careful to abstain from invading the
Do:

Dominions of their Neighbors and from incroaching upon the Liberty and Privileges of their Subjects.

Ragnald.

29. The *Swedes* were of too fierce and active a Temper to relish the soft delights of Peace. They resolv'd to supply the vacancy of the Throne by advancing a Prince that wou'd furnish 'em with an Employment more suitable to their Genius; and in pursuance of that resolution made choice of *Ragnald*, meerly on the score of his Strength and of the largeness of his Stature. But they were soon convinc'd of their imprudence in lodging the Sovereign Authority in the hands of a cruel and violent Prince, who hated and condemn'd the Laws and Privileges of his Country, and made it his only care to extend the Prerogative of the Crown, and to establish an *Arbitrary* and *Despotic Power*, in a Country where the *Kings* were almost only consider'd as the *Captains* or *Generals* of the People. They lov'd a *Warlike* Prince, but cou'd not endure a *Tyrant*; and since he treated 'em as *Slaves* they resolv'd to treat him as an *Enemy*. According to the custom of those Times when the King enter'd into any Province, he receiv'd Hostages from the Inhabitants for the security of his Person, and was oblig'd to give Hostages for the security of their Privileges. But the fierce and haughty *Ragnald* scorning to imitate his Predecessors, enter'd *West Gothland* in Arms; and the People resolving to maintain so important a Ceremony, assaulted that impetuous Prince, and kill'd him in his Passage thro' their Territories.

Su=

Suercher II.

Ragnald had mortify'd the *Swedes* so effectually, and they were so sensible of their imprudence in advancing a Prince of his Temper to the Throne, that they resolv'd to proceed with more caution in the choice of a Successor. *Suercher* was Elected by the unanimous consent of the whole Nation, and was both an exact Administrator of Justice, and a Zealous promoter of Religion. But the Quiet and Happiness of his Reign was disturb'd by the Extravagancies of his lewd and unruly Son, who was a profest Enemy both to the Religion and Laws of his Country. He made an Irruption into *Haland* at the head of a Company of Robbers and other Licentious Villains, the wicked Instruments of his Criminal passions, and seizing on the Wife and Sister of the Governor of that Province, abus'd 'em in a most Barbarous manner, and afterwards expos'd 'em to the brutish Lust of his Followers. The *Danes* took up Arms to pursue the Ravisher; the *Swedes* wou'd not Assist a Prince whom they look'd upon as the scandal of their Nation; and *Suercher* soon after receiv'd the Melancholy News of the Death of his unhappy Son, who was Attack'd and kill'd by the *Danes*, with his infamous Retinue. Nor was this the only disaster that besel the unfortunate *Suercher*; for he was Assassinated in his Sled by a company of disaffected Persons as he was going to Church with his Family and Servants. The Illustrious Family of the Counts of *Brahe* reckon their descent from this Prince.

The succeeding History and Chronology of the Swedish Monarchy is more certain and exact.

ERIC IX.

1150. After the Death of *Suercher*, the Voices were so equally divided at the Election, and each of the opposite Parties maintain'd their choice with so much heat and obstinacy, that *Sweden* was again separated into two distinct Kingdoms. The inhabitants of both the *Gothlands* voted for *Charles* the Son of *Suercher*; but the rest of the *Swedes* declar'd for *Erie*, whose Posterity enjoy'd the Sovereign Authority for the space of 200 Years. His Valor recommended him to their choice, and his Piety procur'd him the Title of a *Saint* after his Death. He enter'd *Finland* at the head of an Army; but that Expedition was not so much an effect of his Ambition or Desire of Glory, as of his zeal for propagating the Christian Religion: Nor did he content himself with opening a way to the *Missionaries* who were sent thither to preach the Gospel, but became an *Apostle* himself, and endeavour'd with all possible Ardor and Application to compleat the conversion of that People. He collected the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom into one Body, and added new Edicts or Statutes that were of excellent importance for the advantage and security of the publick: But these peaceful virtues were so far from gaining the hearts of a people that were accusom'd to live by Robbing and Plundering each other, that they were extremely incens'd against their Religious Prince for attempting to establish and execute the Laws of Justice and Equity at a time and in a Country, in which Force and Power were reckon'd sufficient Arguments

guments to excuse, and even to justify *Injury* and *Oppression*. The devout King *Eric* was Barbarously Assassinated by his seditious Subjects; and the King of *Gothland* was suspected of encouraging, and corresponding with the Rebels.

Charles VII.

The *Swedes* advanc'd this Prince to the Throne, that the two *Gothlands* might be reunited to the Crown. He took all possible care to keep his Subjects from suspecting that he had a Hand in the death of his Predecessor. In pursuance of that design, he began the Exercise of his Regal Authority by ordaining that all the Laws of St. *Eric* shou'd be punctually observ'd: He recall'd *Canut*, that Prince's Son, who after his Fathers Death had made his escape into *Normay*: And to remove all the pretexs that might be us'd for embroiling the Kingdom in a civil War, he made a Law that *Canut* shou'd inherit the Crown after his Death, and that for ever afterwards the King shou'd be chosen by turns out of the two Royal Families. Afterwards he erected several *Monasteries* to gain the Esteem and Affection of the People, who are always extreamly fond of such external Marks of Piety and Devotion.

He sent an Embassy to *Rome* to obtain from Pope *Alexander III.* the Title of *Arch-Bishop*, and the *Pallium* for the Bishop of *Upsal*, who was Primate of the Kingdom. The Pope was easily prevail'd with to grant, or rather to *sell* him the favour he desir'd, according to the usual Maxims of the Court of *Rome*; and that Prelate was invested with the *Archiepiscopal* Dignity, on condition that the Estates of all those who died without Children in the Kingdom shou'd be intail'd upon the Holy-See; but the *Swedes* soon grew weary of that Religious Slavery, and freed themselves from so burdenson a Tribute.

Canut.

Canut.

1168. Tho' King *Charles* had made a solemn Law to settle the Succession upon this Prince, his Ambition cou'd not be satisfied with the prospect of a Crown in reversion. He levy'd Forces in *Norway*, and resolving at once to recover the Throne, and revenge the Death of his Father, he invaded *Sweden*, routed King *Charles*, kill'd him in the Battle, and by that Victory made himself Master of the Kingdom. He left no means unattempted to extirpate the whole Race of his Predecessor; but since 'twas never in the power of a Tyrant to secure his Usurpation by the Death of his Successor, all the cruel Diligence with which he persecuted the Family of the late King, cou'd not hinder the *Swedes* from Electing *Suercher* the Son of that Prince, according to the Law by which 'twas ordain'd that the two Families shou'd enjoy the Crown by turns.

Suercher III.

1192. This Prince imitating the Barbarous policy of his Predecessor, order'd an exact search to be made for all the Relations and Posterity of St. *Eric*. But one of those Princes escap'd his fury, and rais'd an Army to make head against his Persecutor.

Eric X.

1211. He defeated King *Suercher* in a Battle, and after that Prince's Death obtain'd the Crown, which at that time was always the Reward of the Conqueror. As soon as he was fix'd upon the Throne he endeavour'd to make a friendly Agreement with the Family of his Predecessor; in order to which he offer'd to re-establish the Law that was made by King *Charles*

Charles for regulating the Succession; and to convince the posterity of that Prince that he really design'd to put the Treaty in Execution, he appointed *John* the Son of *Suercher* to succeed him, excluding his own Son Prince *Eric*, who was oblig'd to content himself with a distant prospect of inheriting the Crown after the Death of Prince *John*.

John I.

He conquer'd some places in *Livonia*, and endeavour'd by Force of Arms to make the *Estonians* renounce the Idolatry that prevail'd among 'em: But the People of that Country looking upon their forc'd Conversion as a sort of *Slavery*, took up Arms and drove the *Swedes* out of their Province. In the mean time King *John* Died in the Isle of *Wienfingso*, after he had reign'd three years. 1220.

Eric XI. call'd the Stammerer.

He was the Son of *Eric X*, and obtain'd the Possession of the Crown without the least Effusion of Blood: It may be reckon'd a very rare Instance of moderation that a Royal Family shou'd so tamely divest themselves of the Sovereign Authority, and suffer a Prince of another House to mount the Throne without Opposition. This Monarch had occasion during his Reign to perform a very important piece of service to the Regency of *Lubeck*. The *Danes* Besieg'd that City with a numerous Army, and shut up the Port with an Iron Chain, which was defended by a potent Fleet. But when the City was reduc'd to the utmost extremity, the King of *Sweden* sent a considerable number of Ships mann'd with Soldiers, under the Convoy of several Men of War, who beat the *Danes*, open'd a passage thro' their Squadrons, broke the Chain, with which the Mouth of 1223.

of the River *Trave* was block'd up, reliev'd the City with Men, Provisions and Ammunition, and by that seasonable and important supply deliver'd the Republick from the *Danish* Yoak. The Regency, as a Testimony of the publick gratitude for so signal a Deliverance, ordain'd that the *Swedish* Merchant Ships shou'd from that time be exempted from the payment of Customs and Duties.

Waldemar.

1251. The Family of King *Suercher* shou'd have had their turn in the Election, by vertue of the Treaty concluded with the House of *Eric*: But it seems the *Swedes* had either forgotten or neglected that Agreement; for tho' *Eric* the *Stammerer* left no Issue, they Elected *Waldemar* the Son of that Prince's Sister, and of *Jerl* or Count *Birger*, who was General of the *Swedish* Forces during the preceeding Reign. It may perhaps appear strange that the Son, tho' an Infant, was preferr'd before his *Father*; but 'tis plain from the *Swedish* History that tho' the Kingdom was always Elective, 'twas the perpetual custom of the People to chuse a Prince of the Royal Family, preferably to all the other Lords in the Kingdom. In the mean time the Count or *Jerl* *Birger* was intrusted with the care of the Government, during the Minority of King *Waldemar*: And that Wife Lord, who was his own Son's Minister, made it his principal Care to raise the Honor and Authority of the Crown. He concluded a Peace with the Neighbouring Princes, and then apply'd himself wholly to the contriving and pursuing of those Maxims that might make him absolute in the Kingdom. He built and fortify'd the City of *Stockholm*, instituted good and useful Laws, and exacted a punctual observance of 'em. Upon advice that some Lords began to grow Jealous of his Authority, and to complain that he made

made an ill use of it, he suppress'd those brooding Commotions, by ordering the principal Fomenters of 'em to be beheaded. Afterwards he marri'd the King his Son to *Sophia* the Daughter of *Eric* King of *Demark*, that the Authority of his Family might be secur'd by so powerful an Alliance. As soon as the young Prince was of Age, he advanc'd his Father from the Dignity and Title of an *Fertl* to that of a *Duke*, as a Recompence for his paternal Care; and by his Father's Advice he created his Brother *Magnus* Prince of *Sudermania*, *Eric* Prince of *Smaland*, and *Benedict* Prince of *Finland*. *Birger* having settl'd his Family, and establish'd his Son upon the Throne, died not long after; and the Peace and Happiness of *Sweden* ended with the Life of that Great Man.

King *Waldemar* repenting his Kindness to the Princes his Brothers, endeavour'd to deprive 'em of the Estates he had bestow'd on 'em by way of *Appennage*, especially Duke *Magnus*, whom he accus'd of aspiring to the Crown. These Animosities occasion'd a furious intestine War, which was fomented by the *Danes*, and ended in the Defeat and Abdication of King *Waldemar*, who was taken Prisoner, and after he had resign'd the Crown retir'd with his *Danish* Auxiliaries to *Malmogen* in the Province of *Schonen*.

Magnus Ladillas.

The Merit of this Prince entitl'd him to the Possession of the Crown, which his Brother was neither able to preserve nor worthy to enjoy. In the Beginning of his Reign, he made it his Business to increase his Revenues and diminish his Charge, as the surest way to establish his Authority. He made so strong an Interest in the Convention of the Estates, that the Sovereignty of all the Mines in the Kingdom, and of the Four great Lakes, *Meler*, *Wener*, *Wester*, and *Hielmer*, and all the Duties or Rents of the disforested Lands were solemnly vested in the Crown.

This wise Prince made use of so considerable an Augmentation of his Revenues to secure his Authority

ty against the natural Inconstancy of a Nation, that could neither live without a King nor submit to the Dominion of a potent and resolute Prince. He invited several *German* Lords to his Court, and advanc'd 'em to the principal Offices in the Kingdom. The Promotion of these Strangers, and the Interest which the King had in Foreign Countries made the *Swedish* Lords extreamly uneasie, and at last irritated 'em to such a degree that they assassinated all the *Germans*. The King was highly incens'd at so bold an Action, but had the Prudence to conceal his Indignation: In the mean time he made secret Levies, and as soon as he saw himself in a condition to execute his Revenge, he surpriz'd the Male-contents and caus'd their principal Ring-leaders to be beheaded. The Spirit of Rebellion seem'd to be quite extinguish'd by the Severity of so terrible a Blow, and that wise and daring Prince wou'd have certainly establish'd his Authority upon such sure Foundations, and advanc'd it to so great a height, that he might have bequeath'd an absolute Power to his Children, if the Accomplishment of his Designs had not been prevented by his Death. He left three Sons, *Birger*, *Eric*, and *Waldemar*, the eldest of whom was not 11 years old

Birger II.

During the Minority of this Prince, the Care of the Government was intrusted to *Torckel Emtson*, who made himself Master of *Carelia*, took *Hexholm* from the *Russes*, and fortified *Wiburg*, to cover the neighbouring Places from the Incursions of that People. After the King was of Age to undertake the Management of Affairs, he marri'd *Meretta*, the Daughter of *Eric*, King of *Denmark*; Prince *Waldemar* his Brother took to Wife the Daughter of the Regent *Emtson*, and Prince *Eric* marri'd *Ingeburgh* the Daughter of *Haquin* King of *Norway*. This Prince was so far from being deterr'd by the Fate of his Uncle King *Waldemar*, that he seem'd resolv'd to follow the same Methods which occasion'd all the Disorders that disturb'd the Reign of that Prince. He seiz'd on the Tythes, and imprison'd some Bishops, who took the liberty

liberty to complain of his Incroaching upon their Privileges. Nor did the Princes his Brothers meet with a better Treatment; for instead of suffering 'em to live unmolested in their respective Governments, he endeavour'd to make 'em depend absolutely on the Court, and to reduce 'em to an entire subjection to his arbitrary Commands. The injur'd Princes, perceiving the general Dissatisfaction of the People, took up Arms, and were follow'd by all those who were offended at the publick Violation of their Liberty and Privileges. In the mean time the King levy'd Forces to oppose the Designs of his Brothers, and was assisted by his Brother-in-law the King of Denmark: But finding himself unable to resist the prevailing Faction, he resolv'd to execute his Designs by Treachery, since he cou'd not depend upon the Success of his Arms. In pursuance of that unmanly Resolution, he invited his Brothers to Court, under the pretext of a sincere Reconciliation, and as soon as he had made himself Master of their Persons, by that infamous Stratagem, he order'd 'em to be cast into a Dungeon, where they were starv'd to death.

The Swedes abhorring the Baseness and Inhumanity of their Treacherous Sovereign, took up Arms immediately, advanc'd *Magnus*, the Son of Duke *Eric* to the Throne, and march'd in pursuit of King *Birger*, who had the Misfortune to see his Army defeated and his Son taken Prisoner by his Enemies. That unhappy Prince was made a Sacrifice to the Fury of the incens'd Multitude, who cut off his Head to deliver *Magnus* from so dangerous a Competitor; and his miserable Father dreading the same Fate, fled to *Denmark*, where he died in an obscure and ignominious Retreat.

The Reader will find, at the beginning of this Work, the Names of the succeeding Princes, with a short account of their Actions.

1330 *Magnus Smeck*, the Son of Duke *Eric*.

1372 *Albert of Mecklenburg*.

1395 *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Waldemar K.* of *Denmark* and *Q.* of the three Northern Nations.

1424 *Eric XIII.* Duke of *Pomerania*, Sovereign of the three Kingdoms of the North.

1441 *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, K. of the three Northern Nations.

1445 *Charles Canutson*, a Swedish Lord, elected K. of *Sweden & Norway*

1457 *Christiern* of *Oldenburg*, Ancestor of the present King of *Denmark*, King of the three Northern Nations.

1470. *Steno I.* King *Canutson's* Nephew, Administrator of the Kingdom of *Sweden*.

1504 *Suanto Sturius*, Administrator of *Sweden*.

1512 *Steno II.* the Son of *Suanto*, Administrator.

1520 *Christiern II.* Sovereign of the 3 Kingdoms of the North.

1523 *Gustavus Vasa*, a Swedish Lord, Administrator, and afterwards King of *Sweden*, procures the Crown to be entail'd upon his Posterity.

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